

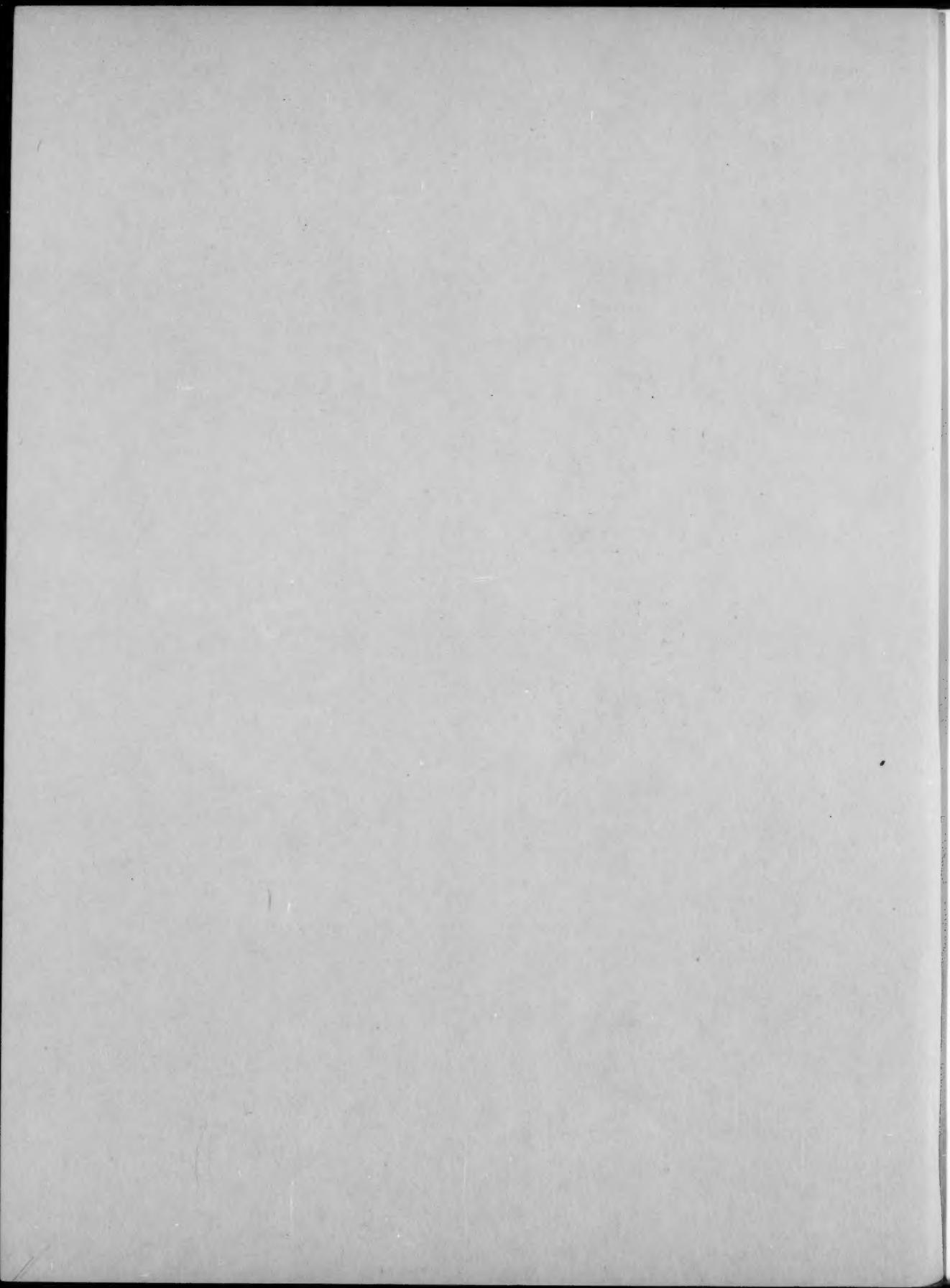
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## MAN AND BEAST IN GASCAR'S TALES

By Laszlo Borbas, Michigan State University

The works of the talented young novelist, short-story writer and reporter, Pierre Gascar, present an interesting variety and treatment of themes dealing, for the most part, with modern man's ambiguous and absurd condition.

Gascar's first novel, Les Meubles,<sup>1</sup> is the story of a young man's obsessive attachment to his room. Le Visage clos,<sup>2</sup> an average story of footloose adolescence and small-time racketeers, was followed by the remarkable Les Bêtes suivies de Le Temps des morts.<sup>3</sup> The six stories which make up Les Bêtes deal each with a different aspect of the human and the animal kingdoms, while Le Temps des morts is a duly terrifying tale of the Nazi-made "univers concentrationnaire." Les Femmes<sup>4</sup> offers four clever psychological sketches of woman's fate in a man-ruled world, while La Graine<sup>5</sup> is the partly autobiographical story of a young boy thrown on his meager resources in an unsympathetic adult world. An occasional journalist, Gascar also wrote an excellent piece of non-fiction, his sensitive and impartial report on Red China, Chine ouverte.<sup>6</sup> Gascar's most recent novel, L'Herbe des rues,<sup>7</sup> is a somewhat trivial but still well-written tale, set against the catastrophic years of 1933-1940.

Considering all of these works, I feel that Gascar's originality and versatility are most apparent in the stories in which he uses animals as a means of exploring man's fate. To be sure, dealing with animals per se is one of the standard themes of the contemporary novel. A stereotyped treatment of this subject consists of the "obsessive pursuit" of a supernatural animal symbolizing an indifferent or evil nature--as in Faulkner's The Bear or Hemingway's The Old Man and the Sea.<sup>8</sup>

Gascar's interest in animals, however, is much closer to Jouhandeau's lucid dissection of man's puzzling coexistence with the animal: a relationship fraught with the same insurmountable obstacles that characterize man's rapport with other men.<sup>9</sup>

The better to trace Gascar's preoccupation with this theme one might reverse chronology and turn to La Graine. In this account of the makeshift life of a lonely boy, animals of all kinds make considerable intrusions into the main narrative, to form a sort of live décor to the young hero's unhappy journey among adults. Soon, however, affection and pity are superseded by a feeling of horror in the young narrator as he watches the animals butchered: "Dispersé, le porc se réduisait à une viande anonyme."<sup>10</sup> Haunted by his empathy toward these animals, the young hero turns to them in his lonely moments--a solitude which then becomes a presence: "Leur mort engrossait mes rêves. Mortes,

elles venaient jusqu'à moi dans la jaune lumière du sommeil, vives, parlantes, imbues de ma propre science...."11

A sharper focusing on a more tenuous bond between man and beast is evident in Les Meubles. Whereas the role played by animals in La Graine was occasional and secondary, it becomes in Les Meubles an essential device for the theme of man's abandonment. Uprooted by World War II and searching for a home-refuge, a young couple, Julien and Mathilde, succeed in securing a room for which Julien promptly develops a subliminal infatuation; in it he sees the only means of securing a footing in a hostile and nebulous world. Soon, however, this home turns insidiously into a trap suddenly invaded by rats. Horrified, the two lie awake at night listening to the ominous presence of the rodents. At this point the subdued excitement of the narrative is reminiscent of Camus' dramatic presentation of a similar invasion. We read:

On ne pouvait pas dire, dans la ville, que les rats avaient fait leur apparition: ç'avait été plutôt comme l'obscurе naissance d'un mal incurable dans un corps. Invisible, sournoise, leur présence s'était lentement imposée au cours du premier hiver qui suivit la guerre.<sup>12</sup>

There follows a remarkable penetration into a subterraneous and malignant animal existence that hovers on the border-line of dream and reality. The narrator's almost extra-sensory awareness of rats makes him visualize them everywhere. At the same time, the stealthy, nocturnal passage of the rats becomes the audible symbol of the couple's own furtive and recluse life and intensifies their feeling that they are "suburbanites of the supernatural." Julien's presentiment of evil increases when he learns that "chambre" also means an animal trap. Again the symbolism of an identical fate for man and beast is complete: Julien's "room" has also turned into a trap, into a "closed universe."

In the title story of Les Femmes, Gascar continues his scrutiny of man's mysterious affinity with beasts. This time he has chosen the tiny but tenacious louse as the real hero of a story that takes place in a slave labor camp of World War II notoriety. One day, an astute inmate of this camp for Ukrainian women discovers in the louse an unsuspected ally: being infected with lice would temporarily exempt the women from work. This is the signal for a frantic hunt: the women catch, raise and exchange the invaluable vermin. The significance of the louse does not stop, however, with its usefulness: the parasite has become a semi-conscious link, a sort of social bond, in the confraternity of the lousy and the dispossessed:

Il est peu de solitude dont la vermine soit dupe.  
Elle seule sait enregistrer les contacts humains

les plus furtifs et les entériner; elle seule sait rappeler aux êtres les plus farouches leurs communications avec autrui.<sup>13</sup>

To lend a distinctly metaphysical overtone to man's encounter with the animal must have been Gascar's intention in his best work, Les Bêtes, a collection of six stories whose very titles are significant of the author's extraordinary interest in animals: "Les Chevaux," "La Vie écarlate," "Les Bêtes," "Gaston," "Le Chat," and "Entre Chiens et loups." Except for "Le Chat," which, thematically and structurally, repeats Les Meubles, the other five tales concern themselves with some phase of the duel between man and beast--a discord that progresses from a simple clash of wills to a kind of metaphysical antagonism.

In the title story, "Les Bêtes," this conflict appears as an evenly matched, almost passive affair. Once more the scene is a prisoners of war camp in East Prussia. On one side of the camp are the prisoners, on the other, a menagerie of wild beasts. Ironically, the latter are well-fed, while the prisoners starve, envious of the felicity of the beasts. Fate is temporarily reversed, however, when the guards are bribed to divert meat from the cages to the camp. Now hell has broken loose among the starved and raving beasts, while a primitive, subconscious fear makes the replete men uneasy; they sense some "vague threats of revenge" emanating from the beasts. This threat materializes all too soon: the fraud is found out, the men are punished and hungrier than ever, and the beasts fairly groan once more with well-fed satisfaction.

The single link, hunger, by reducing man to the status of a wild beast and elevating the latter to the dignity of an almost human suffering, led to a temporary transposition of the original conditions of man and beast in "Les Bêtes." A different rapport is created in "Entre Chiens et loups," a story of man's descent into a world of irrational hostility between man and animal--in fact, a reflection of man's innate enmity towards his fellow-men. The scene, this time, is a French military camp in Germany, where police dogs are being trained. The human protagonist facing these dogs is a displaced person, Franz, a complicated and maladjusted soul, victim of the War, "un homme des carrefours." It is inevitable, therefore, that this live dummy should have developed a martyr-complex about his work with the dogs. He is free to quit, yet he chooses to stay on, for he is driven by a fixed idea: he knows that his function among the bloodthirsty dogs is a necessary part of that immediate confrontation of man and beast which so faithfully mirrors the profound ambivalence of a dehumanized, war-infested world. By voluntarily assuming his martyrdom among bloodhounds Franz has chosen to expiate the "hollow hatred" which fills mankind.

What happens to the mind of a less complex individual in the inevitable clash between man and beast is the subject of "Les Chevaux." That heightened

consciousness of one's condition, which lent to the somewhat grotesque hero of "Entre Chiens et loups" an almost heroic stature, is absent in Peer, the hero of "Les Chevaux." Peer is a simple man, a lonely and bewildered draftee, sent by mistake to a regiment in charge of training horses. Confusion, overwork, lack of provisions for the hungry and unruly horses drive Peer to take a sadistic revenge on the animals. Cruelty--the transfer of one's frustration to a victim--is also Peer's defense against a world that rejects him. Between his initiation into this "equine hell" and his final madness, there are a number of stages, marked by a progressive deterioration of his relationship with the animals. Eventually, his sadism engulfs him, causing his moral collapse. The duel between man and beast for self-assertion has ended again in man's defeat: Peer, half demented, deserts from the Army in order to flee the unbearable presence of the horses.

Gascar's interest in the human-animal warfare culminates in the epic story of Gaston the Super-Rat. "Gaston" tells of the invasion of a city by rats and the subsequent organization, struggle and downfall of the offensive against the ubiquitous and indestructible rodents. As in "Les Chevaux," man's first contact with the animal is harmless enough. When Joste and Paulet, the directors of the city's sanitary service, take personal charge of the campaign against the rats, their main motive is curiosity. They want to "penetrate" into the "secrets" of the rats. As the work of extermination fails, as the rats multiply and grow in size, soon equaling the rat-hero Gaston, the pursuers begin to show signs of a breakdown. In the entire city a collective restlessness and an administrative crisis result from the triumphant survival of the rats. A legend has grown up around Gaston, who now appears as the incarnation of the dreaded "rat of the invasions." Helpless and horror-stricken, man can only await the final triumph of his eternal enemy the rodent. Joste and Paulet were defeated, because, on the metaphysical plane, they failed to penetrate "the luxuriant secrets of the species." Man's lucidity and self-control again proved too weak when matched against the indestructible enemy from the animal kingdom.

In the remaining story of Les Bêtes, "La Vie écarlate," Gascar returns to one of the themes of La Graine, to the fascination that even the dead animal, the butchered flesh of the animal, holds for man. The story, told by the thirteen-year-old narrator, Olivier, describes in detail the fine art of butchery, the "cold rancor" of the butcher and the anguish of his victims. It seems as if butchery had turned into a kind of skilled assassination. Morbidly curious about every phase of fugitive life still quiver in the freshly butchered piece of meat, Olivier witnesses the horror of a profession which drives its practitioner to near-madness. Overcome by the "power of the dead animal," Olivier--like the hero of "Les Chevaux"--runs away from his encounter with the animal, praying "qu'on ne tue plus jamais les moutons."<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps it could be said not only of "La Vie écarlate," but also of all of Gascar's "animal" tales, that "au vrai, il ne s'agissait pas là de la bête. Il

ne s'est jamais agi de la bête."<sup>15</sup> Rather did the animals serve as a means of throwing into sharper relief man's spiritual loneliness, his inability to communicate within and outside of his human milieu. The symbolic meaning concretized in the rooms, insane asylums, concentration camps, and other "close quarters" of Gascar's tales is complemented and dramatized by the role animals play in them. Beyond their intrinsic value in well-told tales, these animals have been instrumental in achieving Gascar's primary purpose: to remove the mask, "le visage clos," of his human protagonists.

#### NOTES

1. Paris: Gallimard, 1949.
2. Paris: Gallimard, 1951.
3. Paris: Gallimard, 1953. Prix Goncourt 1953. See my review in French Review (April, 1954), 379-380.
4. Paris: Gallimard, 1955.
5. Paris: Gallimard, 1955.
6. Paris: Gallimard, 1955. See my review in French Review (April, 1956), 441-442.
7. Paris: Gallimard, 1956. See my review in French Review (December, 1957), 169-170.
8. See Malcolm Cowley, The Literary Situation (New York: The Viking Press, 1954), p. 61.
9. Marcel Jouhandeau, Nouveau Bestiaire (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1952), p. 90.
10. La Graine, p. 152.
11. Ibid., p. 156.
12. Les Meubles, p. 38.
13. Les Femmes, p. 9.
14. Les Bêtes, p. 70.
15. Ibid., p. 63.

## COSMOPOLITANISM OF GREEK DEMOCRACY

By William D. Fairchild, Jr., University of Alabama

Greek democracy reached its fullest development in Athens during the Age of Pericles. The democratic spirit of the Athenians created an atmosphere which made cosmopolitanism and Athens virtually synonymous. Cosmopolitanism means "belonging to the world." Athens was not only in the center of the ancient world; she was, indeed, the economic, political, and cultural center of it: "The rays of the Greek genius here found a center and a focus point."<sup>1</sup> Athens became "the teacher of Greece,"<sup>2</sup> "the school of Hellas."<sup>3</sup> In this violet crowned metropolis, there existed the free exchange of ideas and the wholesale commingling of peoples under the aegis of free democratic government. The nature and extent of cosmopolitanism among the Greeks can best be understood by a consideration of the various aspects of the Athenian way of life. Now let us briefly examine the character of Greek democracy and see to what extent it was cosmopolitan.

The Athenians "developed a system of government which provided for the government of the people, for the people, and by the people."<sup>4</sup> The body politic of Greek democracy was composed of all citizens from every level of society and walk of life. These citizens had equal rights, privileges, and opportunities in a truly genuine democracy. In turn, they willingly assumed and shared the duties and responsibilities conferred upon them by democratic government.

Within limits, Athenian democracy was nearly absolute. Several examples may serve to illustrate the validity of this statement. Political offices were filled by lot, which was the "chief device employed by Athenian democracy for securing the sovereignty of the people."<sup>5</sup> Under this system of election, it was not uncommon for a citizen to wake up and find that he had been elected to one of the high public offices in the land. Some offices required special skills and experiences; the most significant of these was the office of general. The candidates for this office were limited to a predetermined list of competent men of proved ability. Thus the theory of selection by lot applied in this instance, even though the general was openly elected by a show of hands in the Assembly. Moreover, the overgenerous Athenians elected not one, but ten generals all at once for one year. Of these the most famous was Pericles, who was elected for sixteen years in succession.

Complete political equality existed among the citizens regardless of economic status, background or lineage, trade or profession, and prestige. We are told that

The whole government of Athens, with its unlimited Assembly, its Council, in which, even with

its limitations, at least one-third of the whole body politic must at some time hold membership, and with its all-inclusive jury system and open opportunities for administrative and judicial business, was a wonderful contrivance for the widest possible diffusion of political experience and for the training of thousands for intelligent public service.<sup>6</sup>

It is estimated that on a typical day in Athens almost one-fourth of the citizen body was engaged in some phase of public activity. For the citizens, Athens was a perfect democracy.

A further example of the completeness of Greek democracy was the Athenian legal system. The important part the law played in the lives of the classical Greeks is apparent when we consider the fact that the litigiousness of the Athenians has become proverbial. Indeed, it was considered normal for every Athenian at some time during his life to be involved in a lawsuit as either plaintiff or defendant. Everyone had to plead his own lawsuit, although he might gain the assistance of a professional speech-writer in preparing his case. The resort to co-pleaders, or advocates--the origin of the modern name for a lawyer--was a common practice. Demosthenes delivered his famous oration, the De Corona, as Ctesiphon's advocate against Aeschines. However, since both plaintiff and defendant had to speak first in their own behalf, the legal fiction of each man presenting his own case was retained. Thus the parties engaged in an action at law, and the popular jury chosen by lot to decide the issue preserved the concept of equality before the law which was the watchword of ancient democracy.

In the beginning, I mentioned the limitations of Greek democracy. Now what do I mean by this? Democracy was complete for those with the franchise, but there were few with the franchise; about one-tenth of the total population of Attica, or around thirty thousand adult male citizens, had political rights and constituted the electorate. Suffrage, therefore, was limited to those who were Athenian citizens. Athenian citizenship was accorded to those born of citizen parents. After the Peloponnesian War, this requirement was changed to one parent only, due to the frequency of intermarriages with foreigners. The idealistic attitude of the Greeks toward citizenship, however, precluded any kind of naturalization process. Only by special grant of the people could an alien become a citizen; then it was an honor conferred upon a benefactor for some conspicuous act of patriotism or some distinguished service to the state. A good example is preserved in an inscription which records the granting of citizenship to those metics who participated in the return of the democrats from Phyle in 404-403 B. C. and aided in the restoration of the democracy.<sup>7</sup>

A further limitation of Greek democracy was the absence of such common civic benefits as street-lights and police protection. Consequently, it was

necessary for the individual citizen to take upon himself adequate precautions to safeguard his person. At night, the citizen was on his own against such criminals as murderers, thieves, pickpockets, and kidnapers; in the hours of darkness, the rich man had to hire torch-bearers to light the way and a personal bodyguard to guarantee his peace of mind while in transit to a neighbor's house. The poor man simply had to protect himself as best he could or stay inside with the door locked and bolted.

Moreover, in judicial decisions, a citizen might win but would have to rely upon his own resourcefulness in seeing to it that he got his reward, inasmuch as there was no office such as that of the modern sheriff. The execution of the judgment not infrequently resulted in violence and further litigation on the part of the assaulted. Professor R. J. Bonner states that "the system of self-service was based upon the principle that the state should do nothing for its citizens which they could do for themselves. It had its disadvantages, but it tended to make men self-reliant, and it fitted them to serve the state and their fellow-citizens."<sup>8</sup>

The picture of Greek democracy would not be complete without mention of the salient features that depict social conditions in ancient Athens. Greek life was noted for its essential simplicity and moderation. This was manifested in the various creature comforts of the Greeks. The standard of living, although not high, was adequate for the needs of the people. "The Athenians considered it possible to live well without being too comfortable."<sup>9</sup> Apparently only the bare essentials were necessary for the good life.

Among the citizens, there was little or no distinction between rich and poor. The wealthy lived in a very simple way. This observation is based on inscriptional evidence examined by Professor A. P. Dorjahn in a paper of recent date.<sup>10</sup> The inscription referred to is a partial inventory of the bedroom furniture of Alcibiades, who, "by virtue of his lineage, wealth, and disposition, would probably equip his home in the most luxurious and modern manner possible."<sup>11</sup> However, except for the inclusion of twelve beds of Milesian make, the inscription lists the bare essentials necessary to equip an ordinary home. "And that is exactly what the luxury-loving, wealthy, impetuous Alcibiades had--an ordinary home."<sup>12</sup> The lack of ostentation was a striking resemblance in the homes of both rich and poor in Athens.

In the unpretentious dwelling of a wealthy Athenian, it was not unusual to find a social gathering composed of an intermixture of people from all classes and professions. Excellent illustrations of this type of social democracy are found in the Symposium of Xenophon and Plato, as well as in Plato's Protagoras. In Xenophon's account of the banquet in the house of Callias, a motley group of guests, including rich and poor, philosophers and dunces, has assembled and converses familiarly on terms of equality and intimacy. In Plato's account of the dinner held at the home of Agathon, there is revealed a similar intermingling of individuals from various classes and professions. In the Protagoras, foreign-

ers, and especially foreign sophists, are welcomed at the home of Callias; in fact, Callias is almost crowded out of house and home by them. In the opinion of Croiset, as cited by La Rue Van Hook, "The best Athenian society was the most open-hearted, most variously constituted, and most liberal society that has ever existed. . . The Athens that Plato shows us is a sort of talking place, where everybody is supposed to know everybody else, and where each person has a perfect right to make acquaintance with those he meets."<sup>13</sup> Citizens, metics, and slaves "rubbed elbows" and associated freely with one another in the market place. Neither in dress nor in appearance could they be distinguished from one another. However, "the Athenian citizen generally bore himself like a free man, with perhaps a tendency toward arrogance, but with less regard for dignity and composure in gait and attitude than the Roman maintained."<sup>14</sup>

Pericles, in his famous Funeral Oration,<sup>15</sup> said that the gates of Athens stood open to the world, so that all who wished might come to visit and see her greatness. Indeed, Pericles encouraged foreigners to take up residence in Athens. The prodigious wealth and the artistic and intellectual achievements of the city attracted the elite of the world. To provide a few examples of these prominent foreign residents, or metics, who lived in Athens during the Periclean Age may be enlightening. In the fine arts, Polygnotus of Thasos was a celebrated painter; Hippodamus of Miletus was the architect who designed the city Piraeus. Hippocrates of Cos, the physician, was widely acclaimed and extremely popular. Many of the most renowned philosophers, sophists, and teachers were foreigners. Included among them were such eminent men as Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, Empedocles of Agrigentum, Protagoras of Abdera, Gorgias of Leontini, Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippias of Elis. This concentrated galaxy of brilliant men, together with her own native sons of genius, made Athens the meeting place of most of the leading minds of the time.<sup>16</sup>

Athens was a democratic community, not only socially and politically, but also in its cultural activities. The arts of sculpture and architecture were the normal and necessary aesthetic expression of community life. Artists formed no "arty" or anti-social cliques, living in seclusion, believing in "art for art's sake," and creating for a select clientele of the wealthy and cultured. Artists were employees of Athens and worked on public art projects such as the construction of the Parthenon. In this enterprise citizens, metics, and slaves, skilled artisans and workmen, architects, contractors, and laborers worked side by side to build a political spectacle, symbolizing the ideals and ambitions of the Athenians. Thus the artist was a contributor to public life. His art was a response to civic demand; it depicted every phase of social life in which he so intimately participated. The subjects chosen for representation and the aesthetic treatment of them were a clear reflection of the public interest and taste. Athenian art was democratic, created by and for the people.<sup>17</sup>

The aesthetic, social, and political atmosphere in Athens had a profound influence upon the attitude, thought, and way of life of the Athenians. The

liberalism of Athens instilled an infectious air of cosmopolitanism among the citizens. The contacts and associations which the Athenian encountered in his daily existence, while living in a cosmopolitan community, made him keenly aware of things and broadened his interests and outlook on life. His cosmopolitan view was further enhanced by active participation in city life. To an Athenian, home was a place where he slept and ate; he lived in the market place, the Assembly, the courts, and in the festivals, athletic contests, and dramatic spectacles glorifying his city. As an attendant at the theater, as an office-holder, juror, or voter, or as a mere bystander in the market place, he acquired a keen awareness of vital issues and an over-all interest in them. He became wrapped up in the life of the community and its affairs rather than in himself and his own immediate problems. Moreover, the opportunity for self-expression and self-development in all relations of life provided ample opportunity for the "self-made" man. Truly, an individual could acquire a liberal education and develop a "well-integrated" personality just by living in Athens. Perhaps Simonides of Ceos had this in mind when he said: "The city is the teacher of the man."<sup>18</sup> Pericles claimed that Athens as a whole was an education to Greece, and that "her members yield[ed] to none, man by man, for independence of mind, versatility of accomplishment, and a richly developed personality."<sup>19</sup> Athens provided the means by which the Athenian could fully realize his spiritual, moral, and intellectual capacities.

In this paper I have pointed out that, for the citizen, Greek political and social institutions were extremely democratic; that a prevailing spirit of democratic liberalism allowed the cooperative and contributive coexistence of Greek and non-Greek in a truly cosmopolitan society; and lastly, that Greek culture, as represented here by the fine arts, served the needs of the community rather than those of the individual. In view of the evidence presented, we may conclude that the Athenian microcosm was indeed cosmopolitan.

#### NOTES

1. S. H. Butcher, Some Aspects of the Greek Genius (London, 1893), p. 40.
2. Isocrates, Panegyricus, 35.
3. Thucydides II, 41.
4. R. J. Bonner, Aspects of Athenian Democracy (Berkeley, 1933), p. 1.
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6. W. Miller, Greece and the Greeks (New York, 1941), p. 285.
7. L. Van Hook, Greek Life and Thought (New York, 1930), p. 103.
8. Bonner, 99.
9. W. R. Agard, What Democracy Meant to the Greeks (Chapel Hill, 1942), p. 77.
10. "The Simple Way of Life in Old Athens," Classical Bulletin, 30 (1953), pp. 20-22.

11. Ibid., 21.
12. Ibid., 22.
13. Van Hook, 100-101.
14. C. B. Gulick, Life of the Ancient Greeks (New York, 1902), p. 64.
15. Thucydides II, 39.
16. Van Hook, 102-103.
17. Agard, What Democracy Meant to the Greeks, 103, and The Greek Tradition in Sculpture (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 2-4.
18. Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, frag. 53.
19. Thucydides II, 41.

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## ALOYSIUS BERTRAND AND "THE TYPOGRAPHICAL MANIA"

By Helen Hart Goldsmith, The Woman's College  
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Among French symbolists there was a notable preoccupation with the poem as artifact. Rémy de Gourmont once called it la manie typographique, defining the phenomenon thus:

La page imprimée prend à la fois une valeur de tableau pictural et de table de valeurs. Les mots vivent, les lettres, jusqu'aux blancs et aux alinéas. Tout dans la page prend une importance de forme, de position, d'intervalle, de grandeur comparée.<sup>1</sup>

The critic wrote soon after the appearance of Mallarmé's complete works, in 1913. But the concern with graphic presentation of poetry, which he pointed out, had not begun with Mallarmé; nor, for that matter, was it to end with symbolism. As early as 1826, Aloysius Bertrand had conceived of a new kind of prose, wherein typography and format played an essential rôle. He ultimately embodied his conception in Gaspard de la Nuit, a collection which stands at the beginnings of modern French prose poetry. In the present article, we shall consider this work as a manifestation of the "typographical mania" which Rémy de Gourmont described, and we shall briefly point out some relationships among Bertrand's use of space and typography and other writers' innovations in poetic design.

Although Bertrand never used the term "poème en prose," it was as such that he perceived his prose compositions. In a preface to Gaspard de la Nuit, he affirmed that he was a poet "si c'est être poète que d'avoir cherché l'art."<sup>2</sup> Most of his so-called fantaisies are divided into segments consisting of not more than one clause or sentence and separated upon the page by wide spaces. The units are brief and of almost equal length; they are more like verse stanzas than conventional prose paragraphs. Sometimes the prevailing pattern of equality among prose stanzas is varied by a pattern of smooth gradation or of abrupt contrast in length. With greater latitude than in verse poetry, Bertrand was able to use graphic arrangement as one means of conveying the substance and tonality of a prose poem. By varying the relative length of stanzas and the extent of intervening space, he produced multiple effects of symmetry or asymmetry; of rapidity or deliberateness; of simultaneity, continuity, or suspension. The picture compounded of printed word and blank page gave spatial form to the verbal entity.

Bertrand's instructions for the printer clearly attest his consciousness of the poem as a pictorial unit. He wrote:

M. le Metteur en pages remarquera que chaque pièce est divisée en quatre, cinq, six et sept alinéas ou couplets. Il jettera de larges blancs entre ces couplets comme si c'étaient des strophes en vers.<sup>3</sup>

Clearly, in Bertrand's eyes a poem's merit was closely linked with its character as artifact. He emphasized this when he scrupulously distinguished from the rest some prose poems which were not regularly divided into couplets and which contained "des phrases eparpillées, des dialogues, etc."<sup>4</sup> He flatly asserted that these pieces were to him "moins importantes."<sup>5</sup> For them only, he allowed the printer to use his own judgment, saying:

M. le Metteur en pages blanchira les pièces comme il jugera convenable d'après les indications du manuscrit, mais toujours de manière à étendre et à faire foisonner la matière. --J'ai eu soin de lui indiquer ces pièces par une x en marge sur le manuscrit. Elles sont au nombre de neuf.<sup>6</sup>

The remark concerning the manuscript's length taken in its proper context only serves to confirm Bertrand's essentially artistic motives in using space. It underlines the careful distinction which the poet maintained between the strophic and the non-strophic form, and it shows the value he attached to that distinction.

Bertrand was concerned not only with the format of individual poems, but he also paid special attention to the page as a unit. He desired Gaspard de la Nuit to be printed with the title of each poem and book of poems on a preceding page otherwise blank, bearing the title on its recto and the epigraph or epigraphs on its verso. Each book was to be followed by an additional page having on the recto "ici finit..." and on the verso, "ici commence...." The poet may have chosen this arrangement merely to increase the length of the manuscript. However, in view of his prevailing concern with visual effects, we prefer to assume that he wished especially to give his compositions a framework of white space. The author's specifications were followed by Victor Pavie in printing the posthumous first edition of Gaspard.<sup>7</sup> There one may observe how striking is the total impression.

In addition to format, Bertrand was concerned with typography. In this matter he took great care but avoided the ridiculous extremes practiced by some of his contemporaries. He particularly urged the printer not to omit

the asterisks which accompanied double spaces in the manuscript, and he specified that the epigraphs be set in "très petits caractères."<sup>8</sup> He pointed out that the numeral references to footnotes should be replaced ultimately by asterisks.<sup>9</sup> Thus, he sought to assure a particular typographical as well as spatial framework for the stanzas and the poems.

If we take Bertrand's expressed wishes into account and examine the prose poems themselves, we notice how nearly these prefigure Gourmont's definition of la manie typographique. For, in Bertrand's conception and practice, the printed page has a pictorial and a proportional value in which words, spaces, and paragraphs do participate.

One may well inquire why the poet was so preoccupied with the physical presentation of his compositions. We suggest that the reason lies chiefly in his over-all plastic orientation. The latter is implicit in the sub-title of Gaspard de la Nuit: "fantaisies à la manière de Rembrandt et de Callot." The Hoffmann-esque designation deliberately emphasizes the poetry's pictorial bases. We know that Bertrand was a serious student of art history and of architecture. There is evidence that he preferred the Renaissance artists of the Low Countries and men like Dürer and Callot.<sup>10</sup> This is not surprising, since his verbal art had much in common with their plates and canvases: realism and detail of subject; irony of expression; somber, satanic, or fanciful effects of execution. Placing his volume of prose poetry under the aegis of Rembrandt and of Callot, he pointed to his predilections and also to his desire to suggest another art medium. His insistence that his poems be laid out upon the page with delicate precision and meticulous care, like the engravings of his patrons, is surely an important expression of this latter desire.

While Bertrand's concern with spatial form was perhaps unique in his generation, there had been, long before the nineteenth century, attempts to ally poetry and the visual arts. The influence of the pattern poems of ancient bucolic writers was felt in France as early as the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup> A familiar instance is Panurge's epilene in the fifth book of Pantagruel (Chapter XIV). Since 1565, the song of the bottle has been printed in bottle form.<sup>12</sup>

In Bertrand's own day, too, there was a considerable preoccupation with pictorial effects in literature. Let us remember that in 1831 Le Figaro characterized le jeune-France with these words: "Le jeune-France est né du jour où la peinture a fait alliance avec la littérature romantique... et dès ce jour les peintres ont su écrire, les hommes de lettres ont eu la barbe."<sup>13</sup> Such an alliance of the arts did not usually depend upon the physical presentation of a literary composition. It was generally manifest in a language rich in color and plastic connotations, often in descriptions of specific canvases and manners. Bertrand went farther than this; he conveyed the plastic media without precisely imitating or merely describing them. That he succeeded in

a more subtle kind of transposition of arts was partly due to his use of space and printing devices.

Bertrand was not entirely alone in making innovations in format and in typography. A poem like "Les Djinns" or a prose tale like "L'Histoire du roi de Bohème et de ses sept châteaux" suffice to remind us that this is so. Hugo's and even Nodier's ideographic experiments should probably be regarded, however, as occasional tours de force meant to "épater le bourgeois," rather than as consistent procedure.

Particularly interesting are the idiosyncrasies of a lesser poet, Xavier Forneret. He was, like Bertrand, a poet in prose; he wrote about a decade later and was apparently unaware of the other's work. Only since André Breton resurrected him has he enjoyed a certain measure of fame. In his writings he made immoderate use of blank space and peculiar typography. For example, his collection of quasi-prose poems entitled Pièce de pièces, temps perdu was printed on one side of the page only. That the author attached considerable importance to this fact is cryptically indicated by his opening sentence: "Le moment d'alors est comme cette espèce de livre, il veut du blanc dans ses pages."<sup>14</sup> Forneret's procedures may have had an import similar to Bertrand's, but they were less consistent. Furthermore, they were undoubtedly in large measure an attention-getting device on the part of a man who cultivated his fame as an eccentric. Unlike Forneret, Bertrand in no sense desired to be conspicuous except as an impeccable artist; he used the blank page and the printed character only in the service of art.

In connection with Gaspard de la Nuit and the "typographical mania" we are likely to think of Nodier's Smarra, because in it there are some brief, distinctly separated paragraphs of almost equal length, which resemble Bertrand's. Partly on this account, Smarra has sometimes been called a prose poem. Yet Nodier's prose stanzas are only an occasional device occurring merely in the Epilogue.<sup>15</sup> They are not an essential factor of the tale's existence, since they do not correspond to or help to represent a poetic logic basic to the total composition. They are, however, a graphic imitation of poetry, and they have an affective value because they suggest the disunity of a dream.

These passing remarks should serve to emphasize that there was in the early nineteenth century an emerging tendency to give words a halo of space and a pictorial value apart from their syntactical worth. While this tendency was to some extent demonstrated by the work of several poets, its most fruitful and consistent manifestation was in Bertrand's Gaspard de la Nuit. The Fantaisies à la manière de Rembrandt et de Callot represent a peculiarly conscious effort to enhance the word's supremacy and to establish the poem as an autonomous reality. The French symbolists whom Gourmont characterized as being possessed by la manie typographique of course went farther in this direction.

First, we should notice that Mallarmé and his followers abandoned an element which for Bertrand and his contemporaries had been an important concomitant of verbal plasticity; that is, elaborate pictorial illustration. Mallarmé said of the illustrated book: "Je suis pour... aucune illustration, tout ce qu'évoque un livre devant se passer dans l'esprit du lecteur."<sup>16</sup> And we may recall that, before Mallarmé, Baudelaire had banished all "artistic abominations" from the walls of his "chambre double".<sup>17</sup>

The symbolists, however, did retain and importantly elaborate the concern with space and typography which activated Bertrand as he composed during the late 20's and the 30's. Mallarmé recognized that it was an integral part of the tendency toward a liberation of language and a mingling of genres, toward the *vers libre* and the prose poem. And, as Gourmont later pointed out, Mallarmé himself made the most extreme innovations in this direction during the symbolist period. When, like Bertrand, he wrote poems in prose, he demonstrated clearly enough the importance he accorded to space intervening between images, to that absence which is itself a presence. However, his prose poems are not so resolutely framed nor so rigorously proportioned as are those of Gaspard de la Nuit. In his early prose poems brief paragraphs, balanced in length and separated on the basis of poetic logic, often simulate stanzas of verse. Again, there may be such a striking procedure as the italicization and isolation of the key words le pénultième est mort, in "Le Démon de l'Analogie."<sup>18</sup> The late prose poems of Mallarmé are more fluid than plastic and so convoluted in their movement that any such rigid mold as Bertrand had used would have been inappropriate. Even in the late prose poems, Mallarmé nevertheless made distinct separations and silences with the help of the printed page.

In Un Coup de Dés he most thoroughly demonstrated the symbolist effort to establish a bulwark of space around words and to give them an ideal value. This was Mallarmé's ultimate homage to "le vide papier que la blancheur défend."<sup>19</sup> It was the point of departure for Gourmont's remarks on la manie typographique. That critic said of Mallarmé's poem: "Mallarmé s'attache à interpréter les espaces et la valeur des caractères."<sup>20</sup> The poet himself described his procedure as an essentially musical notation.<sup>21</sup> His was a far-reaching effort toward the liberation of idea and spirit; it went beyond Bertrand's primarily representational aims. Yet it grew from a like preoccupation with the word, and it depended, after all, upon effects visually conveyed.

"The typographical mania" was carried to an extreme point by Apollinaire and his followers. Apollinaire, like Bertrand, was principally oriented toward the arts of design. The bold consecrator of literary surrealism was closely linked with the painters of his generation and was their most articulate advocate and expicator. Seeking in his writing the element of surprise, which he deemed of first importance, Apollinaire attempted to achieve on the printed page what artists like Picasso were then endeavoring to achieve on canvas; that is, a

new dimension brought about by simultaneity of impression. While Bertrand had probably not thought in terms of a new dimension, we notice that one of his chief effects, depending largely upon format, was that pictorial simultaneity which Lessing, in his Laokoön, had relegated to the painter's province.

In Apollinaire's poetry, the rôle of space and proportion is important. If we compare definitive versions of his poems with earlier readings, we see that changes are often typographical. Silences replace discursive elements or are interjected between previously unseparated lines of verse. Images are literally carved out of space. Spaces are rearranged to produce greater balance, or they are widened to enhance suspension.

Apollinaire envisaged more boldly than did previous poets a synthesis of the arts. He felt that this end was best served by the ideogram. Specifically, he said:

Les artifices typographiques poussés très loin avec une grande audace ont l'avantage de faire naître un lyrisme visuel qui était presque inconnu avant notre époque. Ces artifices peuvent aller très loin encore et consommer la synthèse des arts, de la musique, de la peinture et de la littérature.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, the poet came to write verse which was so arranged on the page that it imitated for the eye the object evoked. Poems shaped like a tie, a watch, or a fan were nearly autonomous objects. As Bertrand and Mallarmé had done, Apollinaire altered traditional patterns and perspectives in his attempt to establish the poem as a single entity or "artifact."

Finally, we shall mention Saint-John Perse, a present-day poet outstanding among many who make important use of pattern in their poetry. It may seem a far cry from the elaborate and unconventional eccentricities of Apollinaire to the austere restraint of Perse's typical prose stanza. Yet the poet of Anabase and Neiges has in common with all the artists we have discussed a marked concern for "cette page où plus rien ne s'inscrit." These words, in their context at the end of Neiges, make the unsullied page a symbol, as it was for Mallarmé.<sup>23</sup> Perse casts his poetry in a mold not unlike that which Bertrand first used. It is written in short verses which are often widely separated upon the page, and the sequence and relative proportions have an affective basis. The movement, the construction, and the poetic effect of this prose depend in part upon the graphic picture presented.

So, in French poetry today there persists that kind of alliance between verbal and visual art which Bertrand originally sought early in the last century.

Since Gaspard de la Nuit, format and typography have continued to be intrinsic to poetic expression, serving the renewal of language for which modern poets have labored. La manie typographique, variously elaborated or moderated since Mallarmé wrote Un Coup de Dés, has become the norm, increasing in importance as poetry without rhyme or caesura has acquired wide currency. White space is a primary ingredient of much contemporary poetry; thus, we may confirm the continuing significance of Bertrand's general rule: "Blanchir comme si le texte était de la poésie."<sup>24</sup>

#### NOTES

1. "L'Exégèse de Mallarmé," Promenades Littéraires, 5<sup>e</sup> série (Paris, 1913), p. 252.
2. Gaspard de la Nuit: fantaisies à la manière de Rembrandt et de Callot, ed. Bertrand Guégan (Paris: Payot, 1925), p. 5.
3. Ibid., p. 270.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Gaspard, p. 268.
6. Ibid., pp. 270-271.
7. Angers: Victor Pavie, 1842.
8. Gaspard, p. 271.
9. Loc. cit.
10. See Jules Marsan, "Notes sur Aloysius Bertrand (documents inédits)," Mercure de France (March 1, 1925), 336, and Cargill Sprietsma, Louis Bertrand (Paris, 1926), pp. 194-195.
11. See Margaret Church, "The First English Pattern Poems," PMLA, LXI (Sept., 1946), 636-650.
12. See Rabelais, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Jacques Boulenger (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1942, reprint), p. 903, n. 2.
13. Cited by René Jasinski, Les Années Romantiques de Théophile Gautier (Paris: Vuibert, 1929), p. 77.
14. Xavier Forneret, Oeuvres (Paris: Arcanes, 1952), p. 147.
15. Smarra, ou les démons de la nuit, Oeuvres (Paris: Renduel, 1832), vol. III.
16. "Sur le Livre illustré," Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Henri Mondor (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1945), p. 878.
17. Les Petits Poèmes en prose, Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Jacques Crépet (Paris: Conard, 1926), IV, p. 12.
18. Mallarmé, Oeuvres, p. 272.
19. Mallarmé, "Brise marine," Oeuvres, p. 38.
20. See Note 1.
21. See preface, "Un Coup de dés," Oeuvres, p. 456.

22. "L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes," Mercure de France (Dec. 1, 1918), 386.
23. See Arthur Knodel, "The Imagery of Saint-John Perse's Neiges," PMLA, LXX (March, 1955), 5-18.
24. Gaspard, p. 270.

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## ARTE Y ORIGEN DE LAS MURGAS CALLEJERAS

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Cuando Menéndez y Pelayo escribió que "los cantos del pueblo, si son populares, no son buenos, y si son buenos, no son populares,"<sup>1</sup> no debió de referirse a los cantos del pueblo que son espiritualmente suyos y en los que expresa el libre desarrollo de su sentido colectivo sino a los malos poetas que lo son por esforzarse a escribirlos sin el fecundador sentimiento del pueblo y, por lo tanto, resultan artificiales en sentido y substancia. Además toda poesía no se debe medir con la misma regla, especialmente cuando se aplica solamente a la perfección, a lo erudito, a la pureza, o a la forma con la que es comparada sin analizar los sentimientos ni las circunstancias que la cría. Esta es la regla a la que nos tenemos al presentar este estudio sobre las murgas callejeras, porque manifiestan genuinamente la conciencia exteriorizada de un pueblo en manera despejada, sin pretexto de esmeros de forma ni perfección de estilo. Pero sí son sinceras las murgas y nos ofrecen la oportunidad de estudiar la filosofía, la psicología, y las pasiones del pueblo "en carne viva." Como los que engendran las murgas son los menos "leídos" del pueblo expresan sus sentimientos en la forma que les es más fácil--el canto. López Chavarri declara, muy justamente, que: "El canto popular dice lo que el hombre no sabría o no se atrevería a decir hablando, porque la palabra limitaría demasiado su emoción estética."<sup>2</sup> Y esto bien lo prueba el contenido de las murgas.

Estamos firmes en la creencia de que un caudal de cantos que nunca se han visto impresos y que están próximos a perderse porque los viejos que los saben ya no los cantan, y los jóvenes, por lo tanto, no las aprenden, no deben desaparecer de la tierra sin consagrarles una ojeada de aprecio como ejemplos de un arte popular que nos proporciona la ocasión de escudriñar al pueblo como es sin afectaciones ni falsas interpretaciones de otros.

Asómate a esa ventana,  
cara de sardina frita,  
que eres capaz de ásustá'  
hasta la madre bendita.

Con requiebros como éste, y otros semejantes, empieza al amanecer, en muchos pueblos de Andalucía, la fiesta del Carnaval. Los más chistosos mozos del lugar, algunos con caretas, otros solamente con la cara teñida con alpechín, unos vestidos de mujer, otros de viejo, muchos disfrazados de moros o indios, llevando un títere hecho de palo, comienzan la ronda de casa en casa cantando las composiciones que han preparado y ensayado de noche por algunos meses para esta ocasión.

Las composiciones, que sacan a lucir los hechos ridículos o censurables acaecidos en el pueblo, en la comarca y a veces en la nación, se llaman murgas y los que las presentan murgos. La voz murga que refiere también al grupo que canta murgas se deriva del latín amurca que significa alpechín, el líquido de color oscuro que sale de las aceitunas cuando están apiladas antes de la molienda. Los participantes usan este líquido para disfrazarse y por eso los llaman murgos.

Lo popular y lo satírico son los temas salientes de las murgas, que están trazadas con realismo lleno de gracia y empapadas con una picardía que es, a veces, una expresión íntima de velada rebeldía contra muchas fases de la vida, y, por lo tanto, están preñadas de amenazas. Pero con todo esto, con sus murgas el pueblo se divierte con esa alegría que sólo sabe dar a sus festividades, aunque las letras de las murgas sean vivas quejas de sus agravios y de su resignación ante la vida. Así lo expresa la copla antigua:

Clérigos y confesores,  
Obispos y cardenales,  
En la hora de morí,  
Todos seremos iguales.

La costumbre de cantar murgas es, a nuestro parecer, una evolución de los antiguos juglares, no solamente en lo esencial sino también en varias prácticas tocante a la ejecución. Desde la remota Edad Media los escritores eclesiásticos usaban los términos de la antigüedad Clásica (mimi, thymelici, histriones) para aludir a "gentes de su época actual que practicaban espectáculos indecorosos y condenables... que luego extendieron su acción por las plazas, las calles y las casas para divertir a un público más reducido...."<sup>3</sup>

No sabemos exactamente cuando el significado general de histrión, que empleaban los romanos, se reduce a jocularis. Higinio Anglés escribe que un contemporáneo de San Valerio (695), Justo por nombre, "era hábil en la cítara y en el canto, que recorría las casas alegrando los convites con cantares lascivos--clérigo juglar el más antiguo de los conocidos en nuestra Península...."<sup>4</sup> Así que el arte juglaresco ya se practicaba en el siglo VII. Por esos tiempos juglaría significaba primeramente el oficio o arte propio del juglar, la diversión o la función que presentaba el juglar, y luego traspasó a significar "burla," "chanza."<sup>5</sup>

Los juglares usaban con gran frecuencia los cantares de escarnio y según Menéndez Pidal, "lo hicieron en una forma cruda, entrometida en todas las intimidades del vicio, y recorrieron todos los tonos de la sátira, desde los más graciosos a los más brutales y lupanarios."<sup>6</sup> Estos son los que el Marqués de Santillana condencó cuando escribió, "Infimos son aquellos poetas que, sin regla, orden ni cuento, facen aquellos cantares et romances de que la gente

baja et de servil condición se alegra.<sup>7</sup> La misma fuente nos dice que "solfan cantar cantigas de escarnio que eran el pan de cada día para el genio desvergonzado y maldiciente del jugar."<sup>8</sup> Las cantigas de maldecir y las de escarnio eran muy populares y servían como sabrosa diversión no sólo para la corte, pues eran las preferidas de Alfonso el Sabio, sino para el pueblo. Más tarde éstas adquirieron por su atrevimiento y desacato el nombre de cantigas trote ras o callejeras, de las cuales el Arcipreste de Hita escribió algunas; era una poesía vulgar y tabernaria. Contenían un jovial desenfado, un humorismo escéptico y malicioso, especialmente las de maldecir que atacaban por los cuatro costados. Menéndez Pidal escribe que "esta producción de cantigas trote ras o callejeras, se ha perdido salvo alguna muestra de escolares y de ciegos."<sup>9</sup> Esas se habrán perdido pero las sátiras contra el clero, que fué un tema favorito de las cantigas callejeras,<sup>10</sup> todavía viven en las murgas con los mismos elementos de lo burlesco, un sermoneo moralizador, y el grito instintivo de rebeldía de la plebe:

Quien tuviera ala',  
para podé' volá',  
y llegá' al Vaticano,  
y tirá' una bomba  
como la que tiró Mora<sup>11</sup>  
en Madrid en la calle de Alcalá,  
y acabá' con los tiranos  
del planeta terrestá.

\* \* \*

Esos cuervos con corona,  
se ocultan en las iglesias y conventos,  
por sus modos de pensá',  
para engañá' a los pueblos  
y comé' sin trabajá',  
la hora le ha de llegá',  
que la revolución los barra  
del planeta terrestá,  
y aquer que quiera comé'  
tendrá que trabajá'.

\* \* \*

Es la vida un doló',  
culpa del clerió y la ley;  
a los niños no los lleváis  
a la' escuelas Jesuitas,  
y enseñarlos a que sean  
verdaderos anarquistas;  
entones se acabará  
tan inmensa tiranía,  
y con suma alegría,  
nos darán la libertá'.  
Viva er niño que ama instrucció',  
y que muera ar que enseña  
er engaño y la religió'.<sup>12</sup>

La costumbre de desacreditar fué tan arraigada por los juglares que se instituyeron leyes con penas contra los que cantaban "cantigas malas o de escarnio," según Menéndez Pidal.<sup>13</sup> Como los murgos se dedican también a la maledicencia, a lo burlesco y a lo chocarrero, y no se muerden la lengua

para difamar o satirizar, pueden ser multados por las autoridades por sus sátiras si no son aprobadas. Por lo tanto, los murgos suelen cantar las murgas ante el alcalde del pueblo para su aprobación, aunque por casualidad o por su picardía característica, siempre se les olvida cantarle algunas de las más imprudentes. Y después de cantar en la calle las de matiz verde, como los murgos van tan bien enmascarados y disfrazados nadie sabe quiénes son, cuando las autoridades preguntan quiénes las cantaron, contestan con un encogimiento de hombros que "lo averigüe Vargas."

Estamos seguros de que ningún alcalde cuerdo aprobaría las siguientes murgas contra su propio interés:

Muera' todo' los gobernantes,  
asesinos y bandoleros  
que sólo se alementan  
con er suder de los obreros;  
obreros cuando te llamen  
para que vaya' a votar,  
los barre' con dinamita  
a todos los gobernantes  
y aspirantes a goberná',  
entonces será' tú libre,  
y tendrá' tu libertá'.

pu' si esto sigue  
usted va a vé'  
que no va a vé' luse'  
ni pa' comé',  
habiendo dos sentrale'  
aquí en Belmé'<sup>16</sup>,  
si sigue la cosa  
de la forma que se opone  
para po' la caye andá'  
es presiso llevá'  
candiles o velóne'.

\* \* \*

\* \* \*

Ese asesino de Maura<sup>14</sup>  
con cerda en el corazó'  
que' a matado a nuestro hermano  
po' dá' diversiό';  
lleguemos todos al Palacio Real;  
echemos todos a correr  
y describir los criminale'  
de Francisco Ferrer.<sup>15</sup>

\* \* \*

Es tanta la garantía  
que tiene nuestra naciό',  
es tanta la economía  
en nuestra España èr carbó',  
pu' en er pueblo de noche  
no hay lus ninguna,  
pu' sólo nos alumbramo'  
cuando hace luna;

Una mujé enlutada  
madesía amargamente  
a la naciό' española  
po' sé' la má' indesente;  
la admirasiό' nos causó  
ar verla desconsolada  
adiós hijos de mi arma,  
vais a la guerra maldita  
a defendé' a esos suelos<sup>17</sup>  
der campo Jesuita.  
Murió en la guerra luchando,  
aquer jóven camarada,  
mientrá su madre querida  
llora con mucho doló'  
po' er hijo de su arma  
qu' er gobierno asesinó.

\* \* \*

Hace tiempo que desfán  
que querfán hacé' un sentro,  
y los opusieron la llama  
a este nuevo ayuntamiento;  
los simentiros deben sé'  
de monjas o colegiales,  
y las tapias de los muros  
de las cabesas de los fraile';  
si empiesan a doquiná',  
deben de empesá' po' los ministros,  
para er que caya en el podé',  
no cometa má' crime'.

\* \* \*

Do' mi' pesetas le damo',  
a todo ar que la' quiera,  
si no' dise fijamente  
a 'onde nasió Regaera;<sup>18</sup>  
Unos disen que en Asia,  
otros en la China,  
otros disen que nasió  
en la Argentina;  
pu' po' la pinta de su colo',  
yo les garantiso que nadie  
sabe a 'onde nasió ese gachó',  
ni en la pila que er nene se bautisó;  
pues nasió Regaera  
en er pueblo de Verdún,  
en una fabricasió'  
de cisco de cañón  
y cajas de betún.

\* \* \*

En er barrio de Agustín  
a la' sinco de la mañana,  
la lus de eletricidá'  
está haciendo mucha falta,  
por que los mineros  
que tienen que pasá'  
como son tan curioso'  
sacan botas de montá'.<sup>19</sup>

\* \* \*

Un bando se 'a publica'o,  
pa' los perros nada má',  
er que salamo <sup>20</sup> no lleve  
la morsilla le echará';<sup>21</sup>  
y un emplea'o der consumo,  
que der bando se enteró  
con un salamo a sali'oo--  
¡si será perro er gachó'!

\* \* \*

Somos viudas que venimos,  
aquí a esta preciosa tierra  
lamentando las desgrasia'  
y pregustos de la guerra;  
triste, triste venimo' en genera',  
que nos faltan los maridos  
con quien en la casa  
solíamos jugá'.

\* \* \*

La banderita de España,  
está muy bien adornada,  
debajito tiene la niña republicana,  
ella quiere está' ensima,  
cosa que no pue' sé',  
porqu' en España no hay  
quien la pue'a sostene'.

\* \* \*

Soy, Señores, La Chabala,  
la que reparte Er Liberá',  
la que tira muchos mile'  
y gana siempre un buen jorná',  
traigo noticias de todo' lo' países,  
y cosas de la guerra  
que causan sensació'.  
¡Er Liberá'! ¡Er Liberá'!  
qué infame y qué cobarde  
e' esta sosiedá',  
maldita humanidá'.

\* \* \*

Una noche ensayando  
descubrimo' en nuestro' planes  
una cosa muy contraria  
sacamos en nuestro' ensames,<sup>22</sup>  
camino contra las cosas  
va perdiendo su salú',  
y va cargando en sus hombros  
cadenas de esclavitú';  
y uno dise con orguyo;  
- mi nasió' es republicana,  
yo me llamo libertá'  
yo soy de tierra lejana,  
y ahora unidos los do'  
se disponen a luchá'  
para que esploten a España  
la revolución social.

En su Suplicatió al rey de Castela per lo nom dels juglars, 1274, Giraldo Riquier se lamenta de que se llame juglar al que "con poco saber toca un instrumento cantando por las plazas o calles ante gentes bajas y corre en seguida a la taberna a gastar lo poco que gana."<sup>23</sup> Esto es precisamente lo que los murgos hacen con las dádivas que reciben por su función. Las piden en un canto con introducción y seguido por la habitual petición.

Hoy todo' alegre' venimo'  
aquí a cantá',  
hoy todo' como pajaritos  
que van a volá';  
hoy todos alegres,  
pasamo' aquí er carnavá';  
en esta villa  
que ya no es villa  
que es una ciudá'.  
Pue' aquí ninguno somo'  
ni maestros ni poetas  
y la culpa de esta falta,  
la tienen nuestra' cabeza',  
ahora le damo' las grasias  
pue' nos vamos a marchá',  
pero no iremos muy lejos  
alla bajo nada má'.

Hoy todo' alegre' venimo'  
aquí a cantá',  
hoy todo' como pajaritos

que van a volá';  
hoy todo' alegres,  
pasamo' aquí er carnavá';  
en esta villa que ya no es villa  
que es una ciudá'.

\*\*\*

De Serranía venimo',  
la' serrana y lo' serrano'  
con gusto de saludá'  
a este pueblo belmesano.

\*\*\*

Benimo' andando de Santelburgo<sup>24</sup>  
y po' ve si arguno  
nos da dos duro',  
nos hace mucha falta  
pa' comprá' una camisa,

porque ésta está rota  
y se nos ve la chicha.<sup>25</sup>

En la taberna fomentan un alboroto y jaleo que "manda mares" y con el efecto del vino cantan murgas, de intento lascivas basadas en asuntos que han ocurrido en el pueblo.

Hasta el corasó' se parte  
en ver como está este pueblo  
que salen muchos baúles<sup>26</sup>  
sin sabé' quien es er maestro.  
Yo conosco a una  
der la caye Río  
que le 'an hecho un baú';  
entre er señorío,  
le echan la culpa  
ar probe Mosquera--  
¡Vaya un carpintero  
trabajá' en madera!

\* \* \*

Este domingo pasa'o  
jorrible situasió'  
para visitá a un enfermo  
a Don Billarba se buscó;  
- Que espere jasta er lunes,  
le contestó er doctó,  
- Que er domingo no visto,  
nada má' qu'er calejó'.<sup>27</sup>

\* \* \*

A la jermana de Palomo  
er novio la'a fatura'o,<sup>28</sup>  
a las dose de la noche  
que estaban en un corrá';  
y cuando vino la madre  
se la encontró faturá';  
la culpa de eso lo tiene  
la madre consenti'ora,

po' sali'se de la casa  
y dejá a su jija sola.

\* \* \*

En er estanco Juanito  
una francesa llegó,  
y le dijo po' bajito,  
que le sacara un jamó';  
Juanito que no la entendía  
un puro fué y le sacó,  
la francesa se reía  
en vé' que era superió',  
cogió er puro la francesa  
y le dijo en er oi'o,  
- Métemelo Ud. en la sesta,  
que no lo vea mi mari'o.

\* \* \*

De la posada de la plasa  
vimo' un hombre salf',  
embosa'o en una capa,  
derecho pa' er Calerí,<sup>29</sup>  
acompañado de una tapada;<sup>30</sup>  
do' jóvenes que lo viero';  
ellos se fueron detrá',  
po' vé' si de aquer conejo<sup>31</sup>  
argo podían arcansá';  
quien viera visto a Camacho  
po' Belmes la otra noche  
y en busca de Baltasá,  
pa' que le arrendara un coche.

Giraldo Riquier además de manifestar resentimiento de que los juglares que gastaban el dinero que recibían por sus coplas se llamasesen por ese nombre, se queja de los que "hacían juegos con monos o con títeres."<sup>32</sup> Ya

hemos dicho que los murguistas llevan un títere negro hecho de madera a quien señalan como la fuente de su inspiración poética, mientras cantan:

Tenemo' un Negrito,  
de grande posisió',  
tururú, tururú,  
en Córdoba y Valensia  
ganó la esposisió',  
tururú, tururú,  
con Dio' tenemos priesa,  
vamo' a Casablanca,  
a peleá con los Moros,  
y la guerra acaba'la,<sup>33</sup>  
porque dise nuestro Negro,  
que er solo se atreverá  
a cortarle la cabesa  
a Marrueco' y ar Sultá',  
tururú, tururú.

En una murga siempre van dos o tres murgos vestidos de moro. No creemos que sea meramente otra influencia indirecta de la ocupación de los árabes, pero que es también una herencia del modo de vivir en aquellos tiempos. Menéndez Pidal dice que "la influencia de la juglaría musulmana hubo de ser muy grande. Los cristianos se recreaban con la música árabe y también con el canto.... En la corte de Sancho IV de Castilla cobraban sueldo mensual, en 1293, hasta 27 juglares, de los cuales 13 eran moros... además, las nóminas de la casa real registran otros dos juglares moros."<sup>34</sup> Sabemos que los moros mostraron gran habilidad y atrevimiento en el cultivo de lo satírico y lo jocoso. El poeta de estos géneros era aplaudido y ejercía gran influjo en el país: "La gente pretendía su favor como el de un rey, y temía su ira como la del enemigo más poderoso, porque un verso punzante hacía heridas más profundas que el más afilado acero."<sup>35</sup> El poeta árabe además era en algunos aspectos semejante al juglar, pues viajaba y recibía dones. Julián Ribera escribe que Hazam en su Kitab-al-Fisal describe grupos que se reunían para oír hombres y mujeres de poco talento cantar sobre asuntos callejeros.<sup>36</sup> Mostraban gran habilidad en las cantigas de escarnio y como eran muy groseras, fueron las que más se popularizaron y vinieron a ser preferibles las cantigas de burlas, de gracia y de maldecir, que servían de diversión al populocho. En este género los murgos también son tan guasones y burlones. Véase como ponen en ridículo los sombreros de mujeres:

Una señora iba  
po' er paseo  
y'a roto una farola  
con su sombrero;

ar ruido der cristá'  
salió er dotó',  
- Prended a esta señora  
que 'a roto er faró.  
Y la señora dise;  
- Que yo no he si'o,  
que 'a si'o mi sombrero  
po' atrevi'o;  
- Si 'a si'o su sombrero  
Ud. tiene que pagá',  
pa' que sepa su sombrero  
otra vez po' a'onde va.

\* \* \*

Esquilando mi burrico  
estaba en sierta ocasió',  
llegó una tumbe<sup>37</sup> de gitano'  
que llamaba la atensio';  
der pelo se enamoró;  
pesaba do' mil arroba',  
pa' llená' una funda  
y ponerse un polisó'.

\* \* \*

A una mosita se le cayó,  
bailando er chotis, er polisó';  
un mosito con vergüensa,  
fué, lo cogió, y se lo dió;  
y le dijo, señorita, tenga Ud. su polisó';  
le cantaron a su hija

la copla der polisó';  
y er arcalde le contesta,  
- Vaya Ud. mucho con Dió',  
si no se lo jubiera puesto  
no se lo cantaran, ¡no-!

\* \* \*

Jóvenes po' la salú'  
todos debéis de mira'  
y contemplar la belleza,  
bonita o fea, po' lo naturá';  
a una niña la otra tarde,  
tal chasco le sucedió,  
se le corrió la pintura  
y hasta la sintura  
toda se llenó.

Los murguistas se mofan de sí mismos:

Er que toca la tambora,  
cara de sardina asada,  
cuando se pone a comé'  
se come jasta la cuchara;  
er otro díá tenfa jambre,  
se comió er puchero frío,  
y un chivo recién naci'o.

Er que toca los platiyos,  
es má' borracho que una uva,  
para llenarle ese buche  
se nesesita un toné';  
y si es que no'a merenda'o  
no se llena con tré'.

\* \* \*

Atacan a los maricas:

En esta calle no hay mosos,  
y si los hay no los veo;  
estarán en la cosina,  
atisando los pucheros.

Ridiculizan a los que quieren ser toreros:

Tenemo' un gran torero  
en er pueblo de Bélmex,  
que casi siempre le'a de pasá',  
que a los cuatro capotaso',  
er toro lo' a de revolcá'.

\* \* \*

Un joven de este pueblo,  
'a veni'o a jablá'

que quiere que le enseñemo'  
a toread';  
y ar mi'mo tiempo dejimo' to',  
le enseñaremo' sin dentensiō',  
le dimo' cuatro lesione',  
y a la niña le gustó;  
- ¡cómo está la playa  
tan llena de pillo'  
que hasta las maseta'  
paresen bibiyo'!<sup>38</sup>

Hay murgas que se mofan de los que se visten a la última moda:

Tomaron po' fantasma  
a un chiquiyo,  
que rondaba una caye,  
¡Jesús! que pueblesiyo;  
tenemo' que unirno' en gastá',  
cueyo de pajarita y algo má'.

\* \* \*

Mira si son monos  
los niños de taye,  
que gastan abrigos largo'  
hasta abajo,  
como hijos de un marqué';  
su madre en la cantina  
no puede liquidá',  
porque no tiene su jijo  
en la ofisina  
do' pesetas nada má'.

En los ejemplos precedentes hemos visto que las murgas no son solamente satíricas, jocosas, graciosas y picantes, sino que también expresan sentimientos aparte de los más notables. En ellas se juzga, se aconseja, se insinúan moralejas, se censura, se muestran peligros, y se dan consejos. Las murgas además contienen una amenaza consciente que se demuestra entre risas, con un llanto interior que sacude por su exaltación espiritual. Este aspecto se nota bien en las murgas basadas en las faenas de ganarse el pan diario:

Obreros que trabajáis  
con capataces tiranos,  
que en la' minas os arrean

con er látigo en la mano,  
es tanta la cobardía  
que tiene to' er obrero  
que no se atreven hablarles,  
a esos canayas negros;  
pu' ya llegará er díá,  
qu'er obrero pueda hablá'  
y levantá' la cabesa  
con orguyo y dignidá'.

\* \* \*

Obreros del siglo veinte  
acaba' de despertá'  
de ese opio religioso  
que te 'a da'o er capatá'  
para que tú sea' esclavo  
y te pueda explotá',  
demuestra tu rebeldía,  
darle muerte ar tirano,  
y que viva la anarquía.

\* \* \*

Tenemos en nuestra cosa  
un perro de la majá',  
que en los díás de la huelga

fué er canaya a trabajá';  
e' un perro portugué'  
que se 'a presenta'o en España;  
y ese perro tan astuto  
se le 'a presenta'o la rabia;  
er díá que lo encontrémo',  
a ese maldito esquiró',  
le echaremo' la morsiya,  
para que rabie de t'ó;  
y a la jota, jota  
viva la alegría;  
y a la jota, jota  
vuelvo a repetí'  
que si no se marcha  
lo echaremo' de aquí.

Una de las maneras en que los juglares ambulantes en el siglo XII se ganaban el pan era cantando durante las comidas solemnes de los caballeros "buenos cantares et buenas razones de caballerfa et de buenos fechos."<sup>39</sup> En la misma época los juglares callejeros seguían la misma práctica cantando las gestas en las plazas y de puerta en puerta. Este interés emocionante en buenos fechos e historietas populares se refleja también en las coplas de las murgas que expresan ese sentir puro y directo del pueblo hacia lo humano como idea, ideal y emoción a la vez. Los héroes de estas murgas solían ser las hazañas de los bandoleros del siglo pasado, y hoy díá las hay basadas en los actos de valentía del pueblo durante la última Guerra Civil:

Aquí está la Capitana  
mujé' de José María<sup>40</sup>  
qu's la jembra má' guardiana  
que tiene Andalusía:

De nombre se llama Consuelo,  
y su arma e' un tesoro,

y a los hombres con esmero  
los socorre con su oro.

\* \* \*

Este viejo criminá',  
sus robo' y su jechurfa',  
siempre echa la culpa  
a esta famosa partí'a,

Cansados los bandoleros,  
de este viejo desatra'o,  
lo traemo' a este pueblo  
pa' que sea ajorca'o.

\* \* \*

Camino der Entredicho  
hay una sierta vere'a  
a 'onde salió er Carbonero  
y se llevó a la Elisea.

Con er revolbe' en la mano,  
le dijo con disimulo,  
chiquita, vente conmigo,  
y a esos que le' den dos duro'.

\* \* \*

Este era un viejesiyo  
con su burriquío,  
le echaron er alto,  
er alto ar Bibiyo. <sup>41</sup>

Y er viejo de corage  
echó a llorá',  
y a pasá' por un arroyo,  
le salió mi capitá';

Y le preguntó  
qué le habfa' pasa'o;  
y entones le dijo  
er Bibiyo,

Que le habfa' roba'o;  
y le pidió señas  
y señas le dió,  
y llegó ar lagá'  
y ar guarda mató.

\* \* \*

Madrid, la villa del oso,  
sigue demostrando al mundo  
que es el castillo famoso,  
y probando sin desmayo  
que su pueblo es heredero  
del pueblo del Dos de Mayo.

Con fusiles en las manos  
y en alto los corazones  
no soportará tiranos.

Por eso los comuneros  
también tuvieron en jaque  
a los imperiales fieros.

Napoleón Bonaparte  
gran capitán de su siglo,  
tuvo en Madrid mala parte.

Los milicianos de antaño  
fueron el siete de julio  
como los nuestros de hogaño.

Y el año cincuenta y cuatro,  
de la liberal contienda  
Madrid vuelve a ser teatro.

De junio un hermoso día  
se levantan los sargentos  
del cuerpo de artillería.

Madrid permanece alerta,  
y no hay ejército fuerte  
cuando llega ante su puerta.

El pueblo, en armas alzado,  
opone su fortaleza  
contra todo sublevado.

Su tradición liberal  
vuelve a vibrar poderosa  
de Aranjuez a Fuencarral.

Y corre en el Manzanares  
más que agua de su corriente,  
la sangre enemiga a mares.

Hay en la tierra batalla,  
y el mismo cielo entretanto  
está escupiendo metralla.

Y entre los no combatientes  
la muerte acecha traidora

a víctimas inocentes.

En vano ataca el fascista,  
que nunca llegó a creer  
que Madrid se le resista.

Pero el pueblo luchador  
se encarga con su bravura  
de sacarle de su error.

Cada calle una frontera;  
cada casa es un castillo;  
cada esquina, una trinchera.

Crean que es cosa sencilla,  
como en tarde dominguera,  
el pasar a la Bombilla.

Pero les vuelan el puente  
y comprenden el peligro  
de cruzar alegremente.

Muchas víctimas se inmolan  
ante el empeño furioso  
de la columna de Mola.

Lanzan llamas sus ardores  
y el pueblo aviva su fe  
entre tales resplandores.

Las madrileñas valientes,  
de la hija de Malasaña  
son las dignas descendientes.

La Libertad es un Sol  
que puede sufrir eclipse,  
pero vuelve su arrebol.

Y en España lucirá,  
porque es el Sol de Madrid  
el Sol de la Libertad. 42

Ya vemos que todas las coplas de las murgas no son sólo jocosas, en que todo se mira por el lado cómico, risible o gracioso, pero que también se emplean para expresar un sentimiento, una emoción íntima de libre movimiento expansivo como si fuese una expansión del alma colectiva del pueblo, y que todas sus coplas no se adhieren solamente a lo chocarrero y grosero para el ruidoso divertimiento del vulgacho. El contenido de una copla de murga también es frecuentemente un relato de un acontecimiento que ha causado la indignación o la risa del pueblo, que lo cuenta directamente con una emoción estética que no solemos hallar en los romances, pues es más pura y atrevida, lo que vivifica su belleza por su sencilla espontaneidad:

Éste era un probe barquero  
casado con una dama,

la dama tenía un hijo  
más hermoso que la plata.

Se le ha ocurri'o un viaje  
de Sevilla pa' Granada,  
y lo primero que pregunta  
es po' er hijo de su alma.

—Siéntate mari'o y come  
que er niño en la caye anda,  
como e' tan chiqueretín  
en los manda'o' se tarda—.

Cuando er padre fué a comé'  
la lengua der niño habla;  
- Détente padre y no coma',  
que come de tus entraña'.

- Que esta madre que yo tengo,  
pu' debían de degollarla,  
con un cuchillo de asero  
que er arma le traspasara.

\* \* \*

Un dí'a de carnavá'  
de gitano me vestí'.  
Y en un gran salón de baile  
a mi novia conosí'.  
- Gitana, si eres de Egipto  
echa la buena ventura--.  
- Cómo quiere' que te la eche  
si no soy gitana pura--.  
- Gitanilla, por favor, que quiero  
sabe' la suerte mfa, mira  
la suerte que tengo yo--.  
- Es Ud. un buen muchacho  
y de buena condisió'n,  
pero tiene Ud. una falta  
que es Ud. un calaverón;  
tiene dos comprometida',  
las dos te llenan de amó';  
una es morena baja,  
la otra rubia como un sol;  
no te cases con la rubia  
que serás un desgracia'o;  
en cambio con la morena  
has de ser afortuna'o.

La morena vale un duro,  
y la rubia vale do';  
cásate con la morena  
que es má' barata y mejó'-.  
Er joven no le hiso caso  
y con la rubia se casó.  
Pero al mes de está casa'o  
la separación pidió.

\* \* \*

En un árbo' se encontraba un nf'o.  
Un pastorsito de ayá lo cogió,  
los pajariyos lloraban de miedo,  
y er se reía con gran ilusió',  
y la madre oyendo llorá' a sus hijo';  
- Po' Dio' --le desfá-- dámelo  
pastó--;  
y entones el pastó' recordó lo'  
suyo',  
y lleno de angustia se los entregó.

\* \* \*

En casa de Santofema  
er día de la Calendaria,  
había un gran señó' forastero;  
y un chicho le amensaba,  
muy bien, muy bien;  
y er chicho le quería,  
cortá' un traje  
que no fuera de satén,  
muy bien, muy bien.

\* \* \*

En un comersio grande  
en la caye Pedroche  
er guarda que lo vigila  
a las dos de la noche,  
sintió un ruido enorme,  
y se paró a escuchar,  
y viendo que seguía  
se determinó a llamá';  
qué susto tan diforme  
nunca lo orbidará--  
y resultaron dos ratas  
en una gran boardilla pillá'.

\* \* \*

Er veinte y uno de marzo,

Una "compañía de murga," si así la podemos designar, suele consistir de diez a veinte personas. Se acompañan con violín, acordeón, pitos, platillos, chacarabias, tambores y guitarras. La tonada es sencilla sin requiebros ni ornamentaciones musicales. La misma tonada se adapta a cualquier murga nueva y naturalmente es una bien conocida por todos, casi siempre una tonada muy antigua.<sup>43</sup>

La costumbre de ridiculizar y de satirizar en forma de canto es anti-quísima y se halla también en las mojigangas que fueron tan populares en el siglo XVII. También la tonadilla escénica, con su sátira picante, fué muy aplaudida desde 1751 hasta 1850 cuando gradualmente desapareció del teatro español. Estas dos formas, aunque contienen algunos de los elementos de las murgas, son muy diferentes, pues fueron escritas por dramaturgos y músicos de más o menos habilidad artística y como se escribieron se conservan hoy día y han recibido atención de investigadores, pero las murgas, por

desían los carniseros  
que no mataban má' bichos,  
porque no les tenía' má' cuenta;  
y entones Don Alejandro  
desía en arta vos,  
- Aquí tenéis mi gana'o  
no quiero revolusió'.

\* \* \*

Un sapatero y un hombre  
a echá' un paseo fueron  
a la casa de Rodrígues  
y en er río se cayeron;  
uno que gastaba barba  
como un sapo salió,  
y er otro que era má' viejo  
una pata se quebró.

\* \* \*

Un gitano a un burrico convidó  
a una sopa de puchero;  
er burrico le miraba con atensió',  
y er gitano le desía,  
- ¿No e'tá contento, guasó'?  
y er burrico le respondió,  
- ¡A mí me gustan de jamó'!

lo que puedo averiguar, no han sido tratadas ni por el folklorista ni por el literato y ésta será la primera vez que se verán en letra de molde. Espero que este estudio sea un principio y que sirva de interés para otras investigaciones de las murgas callejeras.

#### NOTES

1. Citado por Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Discurso acerca de la primitiva poesía lírica española, (Madrid, 1919), p. 9.
2. López Chavarri, Música popular española (B. A.: Labor, 1927), p. 10.
3. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, Publicaciones de la Revista de Filología Española, Junta para Ampliación de estudios e investigaciones científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos (Madrid, 1924), p. 7.
4. Higinio Anglés, España en la historia de la música universal, Arbor, XI, Sept. - Oct. (1948).
5. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, p. 8.
6. Ibid., p. 217.
7. Citado por Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de la Poesía Castellana en la edad media (Madrid, 1911-13), I, p. 20.
8. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, p. 266.
9. Ibid., pp. 265-266.
10. Higinio Anglés, pp. 68- 69.
11. Francisco Mora fundó la Unión General de Trabajadores en 1888.
12. Debo estos ejemplos a varios parientes y amigos que con gran benevolencia me las cantaron. Entre ellos mi padre Epifanio Herrera y Flores, José Herrera y Ortega, Francisco Mejías, y Encarnación González.
13. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, p. 218.
14. Antonio Maura, político conservador y primer ministro en 1903-04; 1907-09; 1918-1919; 1921.
15. Francisco Ferrer (1859-1909), un anarquista teórico.
16. Bélmez, ayuntamiento del partido judicial de Fuente Ovejuna (Córdoba); pueblo natal del escritor, de donde vienen los ejemplos de estas murgas.
17. Se refiere a la guerra de Cuba.
18. Regaera, nombre contrahecho; los oyentes sabían a quien se refería la murga.
19. Zapatos altos porque había tanto fango.
20. Bozal.
21. Morcilla con veneno.
22. Ensambladura.
23. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, p. 14.
24. Santerburgo, pequeña aldea cerca de Bélmez.
25. Carne.
26. Se refiere al "bulto" de las mujeres que están encinta.

27. Callejón; aquí refiere al barrio de prostitutas.
28. Dejar encinta.
29. Antiguo castillo en las afueras de Bélmez.
30. Mujer.
31. Mujer.
32. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, p.14.
33. La guerra de Marruecos que no terminó hasta 1926 cuando el caudillo árabe Abd-el-Krim fué derrotado.
34. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, p.138.
35. Adolfo Federico Schack, Poesía y arte de los árabes en España y Sicilia (tr. de Juan Valera, 3 ed., Sevilla, 1881), I, pp.32-33.
36. Julián Ribera, La música de las cantigas (Madrid, 1922), p.153.
37. Gentío.
38. Ternero.
39. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y juglares, p.376.
40. José Marfa (Pelagio), bandolero andaluz, llevaba el mote de "El Tempranillo." Es el protagonista de la novela romántica en seis tomos de Manuel Fernández y González: El Rey de Sierra Morena (Madrid, 1871).
41. Famoso bandolero de fines del siglo XIX.
42. Debo esta murga a mi estimado amigo Adolfo Salazar, gran escritor y famoso musicógrafo.
43. Véanse dos ejemplos de las tonadas más frecuentemente usadas.

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1



2



## ALASTOR, ENDYMION AND GORTER'S MEI

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Students of English literature have long been aware of similarities in narrative structure and idea between Shelley's Alastor, published in 1816, and Keats' Endymion, published some two years later. These similarities have been examined by prominent scholars and critics such as Ernest De Selincourt, Sidney Colvin, and A. C. Bradley, and the possibility of influence has been considered. Few English readers know, however, that some seventy years later, in 1889, a young Dutch poet named Herman Gorter published his masterpiece, Mei, which bears an interesting relationship to both English poems and was quite clearly influenced by at least one of them.

The outward similarities in the three poems are apparent. In each of them a mortal loves a being of supreme beauty, who is portrayed as immortal or ideal. The poet in Alastor sees in a vision a supremely beautiful and virtuous woman and goes in search of her prototype. Endymion, in Keats' poem, loves and pursues Cynthia, a celestial moon-maiden. In Gorter's poem, May, a mortal maiden who personifies the month of May, vainly loves the Scandinavian god Balder. Each of the three mortals pursues the object of his devotion through a wondrous landscape, described with such a luxuriance of sensuous beauty that narration tends to become lost in description. Shelley's youthful poet follows his vision through the enchanted regions of the Indian Caucasus; Endymion searches for Cynthia beneath the earth, under the sea, and in the skies; May pursues Balder through limitless heavens where dwell the Scandinavian gods. Moreover, there is in each narrative a second mortal who is, in some sense, the rival of the celestial loved one. In Alastor this mortal is the Arab maiden who brings the poet his food and loves him in vain; in Endymion it is the sorrowing Indian maiden who proves, in the end, to be one with Cynthia; in Mei it is the poet, the narrator of the story. The three poems do not, however, have similar conclusions. Shelley's poet fails to find the prototype of his vision and therefore languishes and dies. Endymion and Cynthia, happily re-united, ascend to heaven. May succeeds in finding Balder but dies in sorrow when she finds that union with him is impossible.

When one compares Endymion and Mei, further similarities appear: prefaces which tell us that the poems are undertaken in the spring; successive visions or appearances of the immortal loved one, followed by ecstatic love experiences; nymphs who foretell or suggest the outcome of the quests; journeys through supernatural landscapes, haunted by music; visits to unearthly palaces with labyrinthine passageways; and eventual return to earth and re-union with the mortal lovers. There are similarities in treatment and style as well as in the external narratives. Both Keats and Gorter write their poems in heroic couplets, except for occasional lyrics written in stanzas. Perhaps the most striking similarities occur in two of the interspersed lyrics: the songs of the Indian maiden and of

Balder. Both are lyrical autobiographies, and their concluding stanzas are so similar that one certainly seems a verbal echo of the other. The Indian maiden concludes with an apostrophe to sorrow:

There is not one,  
No, no, not one  
But thee to comfort a poor lonely maid;  
Thou art her mother,  
And her brother,  
Her playmate, and her wooer in the shade.<sup>1</sup>

Balder concludes with a description of his loneliness:

Er is niet een,  
Neen, neen, niet een  
Die zo als ik haar woestenijen kent--  
Zij is mijn kluis,  
Mijn vaderhuis,  
Mijn stad, mijn hemeltent.<sup>2</sup>

There is not one,  
No, no, not one  
Who knows as I her wide, waste continent--  
She is the cell  
Wherein I dwell,  
My town, my heaven-tent.<sup>3</sup>

The similarity of Mei to Endymion is no reflection on the originality of the former, however. There is enough of Gorter and of Holland in Mei to give it a wholly distinctive flavor. Gorter's Scandinavian mythology gives his work robustness and masculinity, particularly in his account of the revels of the lusty Teutonic gods. This mythology is strangely but not incongruously mingled with a realism which is missing in Endymion: graphic pictures of the Dutch seashore and countryside, figures of Dutch farmers, housewives, and schoolboys. Moreover, in spite of its mythology, Gorter's poem moves us with its warm humanity and pathos, especially in the poet's account of his devotion to May and in the mournful narrative of May's death. Keats' poem is more exclusively romantic and mythological; it lacks the rich variety of Mei.

The similarities and differences in Alastor, Endymion, and Mei are most challenging when one considers them as allegories, each involving in some way mortal man's pursuit of the ideal or the unattainable. That Shelley intended his poem to be read as an allegory is certain; his own preface tells us plainly that it "may be considered as allegorical of one of the most interesting situations of the human mind."<sup>4</sup> Keats, on the other hand, did not clearly state whether an allegory was intended in Endymion. In fact, his critics appear not to have noticed

a possible symbolism until late in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, however, the tendency has been to interpret the poem allegorically. Gorter's intention is even more perplexing. Before its publication he referred to the poem as "mijn wijsheid" (my wisdom); but shortly afterward he wrote that he had intended "iets... van heel veel licht en een mooie klank, verder niets" (something of very much light and a beautiful sound, nothing further). The little philosophy which appeared in the poem, he added, was somewhat accidental.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, although Gorter seems to have discouraged a philosophical interpretation of his work, his critics have seen fit to read it symbolically, believing that his original intention was that it should be so read.

The symbolism of Shelley's Alastor is not open to much dispute, for the poet's preface makes the meaning reasonably clear. The woman whom the solitary poet sees in his vision is a being who "unites all of wonderful, or wise, or beautiful, which the poet, the philosopher, or the lover could depicture." She is the ideal whose prototype he seeks to find in the actual world. Failing to find this prototype, he wastes away. The reason for his death, Shelley explains, is his "self-centered seclusion." He is one of those "who attempt to exist without human sympathy" and who perish "when the vacancy of their spirit suddenly makes itself felt." Alastor, therefore, seems to make two assertions about human life: first, that man cannot hope to find the ideal wholly realized in the actual; second, that man cannot find happiness by turning his back upon the actual world of humanity and trying to live wholly in the ideal.

Various allegorical interpretations of Endymion have been offered. These have more than once been summarized and examined by competent scholars<sup>6</sup> and hardly need to be listed and re-examined here. In spite of variations, a certain measure of agreement appears in these interpretations. Endymion has usually been interpreted as Man, Soul, the Poet, or the Imagination. Cynthia, the object of his quest, has been identified with spiritual or ideal beauty or with ultimate truth. The Indian maiden, who for a time distracts Endymion in his quest, has been regarded as a symbol of the actual world of humanity. According to Clarence D. Thorpe, she is "the realities of earth" and "the spirit of sorrow and suffering in the world."<sup>7</sup> There seems to be a rather general agreement, then, that Keats' poem portrays man or the poet in search of some universal or spiritual ideal--a search from which he seems to be temporarily deterred by his interest in his fellow man, until he discovers that all love is essentially the same and that all the forms of beauty which man loves are in reality one. Usually, too, Endymion's quest is explained as a progress from one kind of love to other and higher kinds of love; he advances from love of sensuous beauty to love of mankind and of the ideal. The message of Endymion, therefore, is that man can arrive at true happiness and achieve ideal beauty only through love of his fellow man, inasmuch as nature, man, and spiritual reality are essentially one. Like Shelley in Alastor, Keats in Endymion recognizes the supreme need of sympathy and love in human life. Even Amy Lowell, who refuses to see an allegorical meaning, agrees that the theme of love is central in the poem.

The symbolism of Gorter's Mei is as uncertain as that of Endymion and has been the subject of much speculation and dispute. Four divergent interpretations are listed by Achilles Mussche in his little volume.<sup>8</sup> First, there is the mystical interpretation which makes Balder the symbol of resigned and passionless contemplation and May the representative of restless human activity. Second, there is the interpretation of Gorter's contemporary, Albert Verwey, according to which May is the symbol of transient beauty, desirous of union with Balder, the world-soul. On the other hand, according to the poet and critic Garnt Stuiveling, May is man's closing youth--the period when he yearns for a life beyond nature, for the eternal, the absolute, the perfect. Finally, another poet, P. N. Van Eyck, sees in Mei the theme of the opposition of nature and soul and the conclusion that the essence of the soul makes impossible any union with transient nature.

In Book I, in which May first appears upon the Dutch landscape, she certainly suggests the natural, the sensuous, the temporal. Two ideas, which appear with almost regular alternation, pervade Book I: the beauty of the sensuous world and the transitory nature of earthly things. May first appears on the scene as the epitome, the apotheosis of earthly loveliness. But the passage which describes her surpassing beauty is followed shortly by another which calls attention to the impermanence of all things:

Een ding is droevig en maakt zacht geklaag  
Altijd om d' aarde heen, een nevel vaag  
En luchting om dat lijk: 'tis wisseling  
Van zijn en niet zijn en dat ieder ding,  
Zielen en bloemen, drijven naar dat rijk,  
Waar 't wit en stil is en den dood gelijk.

One thing is sad and softly makes complaint  
Around the earth, an airy mist and faint  
About that body: it is the succession  
Of being and not-being, the progression  
Of all things--flowers, souls--toward that domain  
Where all is white and still, a deathlike plain.

Thus May's first joyous evening on earth is followed by a night during which she sees her sister April carried on a funeral bier. On the following morning she scatters flowers about the Dutch countryside but also encounters a stream-nymph who tells a story of changing seasons and suggests a deep sorrow. The afternoon and evening bring her further experiences of beauty and happiness, but the book closes with a description of night and of the succession of the twelve hours. At this point, May clearly suggests the fleeting beauties of sense, or possibly the poet's delight in such beauties.

Balder, on the other hand, suggests the intuitive, incommunicable life of

the spirit. He makes his first appearance in Book II as a young god of celestial beauty, lovelier than the sun and surrounded by a light upon which his figure casts no shadow. Then he sings a song which tells of his celestial origin, of his blindness, and of his present complete isolation; he declares that he has forgotten all earlier joys and sorrows and that music is now his sole delight. The bulk of Book II is an account of May's experiences as she goes in search of him, no longer satisfied with the confinement of her earlier existence and wholly absorbed in him. Balder's symbolic significance is most clearly indicated when, upon her re-discovery of him, he explains in a long monologue why their union is impossible.

In this monologue Balder announces that he has wholly forgotten the changing world of sense. He speaks with contempt of gods and men who continually desire change. Scorning the life of the senses, he exalts the inexpressible life of the individual soul. Of this life music is an image, for music is divorced from sense:

Dat is muziek, die heeft met alle dingen  
Niets meer gemeen, en alle vreemde zinnen  
Zijn blind voor haar, geen vormen en geen kleur  
Heeft zij, zij is de lucht gelijk in heur  
Afwezigheid voor 't oog en schijnarmoede.<sup>10</sup>

Such music is, who dwells in her defenses  
Apart from other things; all other senses  
Are blind to her; formless and colorless  
Is she, like air in her elusiveness  
To sight and in her poverty of show.

Yet even music is inadequate as an image of the life of the soul, which is incom-  
municable and must be lived in complete isolation--an isolation symbolized by  
Balder's blindness. This blindness, this isolation has led him to renounce all  
things except the unchanging life of the spirit:

Haar wil ik hebben, heb ik, en niemand  
Dan zij, mag met mij wonen in dit land.  
Ik wil geen toekomst, geen geheugen hebben,  
Zij is altijd gelijk, zij kent geen ebben  
En vlood, zij is eeuwig, alleen, zij is,  
Zij leeft door eigene ontvangeris.<sup>11</sup>

I have her and would have her; there can be  
No other dwelling in that land with me.  
I want no future and no recollection;  
She always is the same, knows no deflection,  
No ebb and flood--alone, eternal, she  
Lives and through own conception came to be.

Thus Balder, the inexpressible and unchanging life of the soul, seems to stand opposed to May, the transitory and concrete world of sense.

If this interpretation is correct, then Book III apparently indicates Gorter's choice of the world of sense in preference to the too intangible world of soul. It is in this book that the poet, the third figure in the narrative, figures prominently. After May has become convinced that Balder is not for her, she returns to earth, where she has left the sorrowing poet. She joins him and tells of her experience in celestial realms and of the words of Balder. He fails to understand her and rejects the way of life that Balder has chosen:

...toen zei ze mij  
De Balderswoorden, godd'lijk, wonderbaar.  
Ik werd een tijd zeer stil en dacht veel, maar  
Begreep het niet, want mijne ziel kon niet  
Denken wat ze zou zijn, wanneer ze niet  
Behoeft had aan ore' en oge' en wens  
Naar anders en naar meer: dat kan geen mens.<sup>12</sup>

...then she repeated too  
The words of Balder, wondrous and divine.  
Then I grew still and many thoughts were mine;  
But I was baffled, for my soul could not  
Conceive what she should be when she should not  
Have need of ears or eyes nor e'er demand  
Aught but her own: man does not understand.

This declaration is followed by a stroll through a very real Dutch landscape; they see a steamboat coming up the stream, farmers going to their morning labors, and mowers resting in the shade at noon. At evening they wander through the city streets and go to the poet's home, built upon the city wall. On the following day, at May's request, they watch carpenters and sail-makers at their work and visit the city's very domestic suburbs. It appears that both May and the poet have chosen the world of sense, the world of actuality and of human experience as their proper element.

Simply to identify May with sense and Balder with soul poses certain difficulties, however. If May is to be understood simply as the world of sense or sensuous beauty, her desire for union with Balder is difficult to explain. That the poet should desire such a union would be intelligible, but he does not desire it; it is May herself who goes in search of Balder. Similarly, it is difficult to understand why Balder, if he represents the eternal life of the soul, should once have enjoyed the life of the senses, as he asserts that he formerly did. Finally, the death of May does not fit easily into an allegorical scheme. It is perhaps best not

to consider Mei an allegory of the same type as Alastor and Endymion. It is, rather, a symbolic poem--a narrative and lyric work with allegorical overtones.

However, regardless of the interpretation which we accept, one conclusion is quite inevitable: Mei signifies Gorter's acceptance of, his reconciliation to the actual world, the world of immediate reality. This significance can hardly escape us as we follow the progress of the narrative, particularly as we contrast the homely realism of the third book with the extravagant fantasies of the second.

What then is the affinity, if any exists, between Alastor, Endymion and Mei? That Gorter, when he wrote Mei, was aware of Alastor and Endymion is almost certain; that he was influenced by one or both of them is more than probable. The literary renaissance which took place in the Netherlands in the 1880's was inspired in great measure by the poetry of Shelley and Keats, and Gorter was prominent among the Nieuwe Gids writers who precipitated this movement. The two volumes of his critical writings, however, make only passing references to Alastor and no mention at all of Endymion, although he speaks with great reverence of both Shelley and Keats. In his long essay on Shelley, included in De Groote Dichters, he declares that Shelley is the last of the great middle-class poets, that he is one of the six great poets of Europe, and that he towers above Goethe. Elsewhere he is also tempted to rank Keats above Goethe.<sup>13</sup> But when Gorter wrote De Groote Dichters he was a confirmed socialist, and his whole view of life and literature was colored by his Marxian philosophy. Hence the poems which interest him most in his essay on Shelley are those which have social significance: The Revolt of Islam, Prometheus Unbound, The Cenci, The Mask of Anarchy. He discusses Alastor chiefly as an example of the free, individualistic spirit of the nineteenth century. Thus, Gorter's critical writings throw little light on any possible influences on Mei. Nevertheless, the internal similarities between his poem and those of Keats and Shelley invite study.

That Mei, to a certain extent, echoes the thought of Alastor seems a safe conclusion, although it does not follow that Gorter's poem was influenced by Shelley's. Mei emphasizes the dualism of soul and sense, the eternal and the temporal, the ideal and the actual, the one and the many--a dualism which Shelley pointed out not only in Alastor, but also in Adonais, in The Defence of Poetry, and elsewhere. May is unsuccessful in her quest of Balder, just as the poet in Alastor fails in his search for the prototype of his vision because both aspire to something unattainable in an imperfect universe.

The relation between Mei and Endymion is less clear, although the possibility of conscious influence is much greater. In some respects, Mei appears to be an answer to Endymion, just as some critics have considered Endymion an answer to Alastor. Endymion succeeds in his quest of an unearthly ideal, while May and the poet in Alastor do not. Moreover, there are passages in Endymion which suggest that a fusion of the spiritual and the natural--the possibility of which Mei denies--

can be achieved. Critics like Sidney Colvin and John Middleton Murry have held that Keats, in Endymion, is speaking of mystic union with the Absolute, of "full communion or 'fellowship divine'... with the spirit of essential Beauty in the world,"<sup>14</sup> of "perfect self-forgetfulness... and communion with the One."<sup>15</sup> Could it be that Gorter, when he wrote Mei, consciously made his poem parallel the style and narrative structure of Endymion because he wanted to contradict its thesis?

We cannot be certain of Gorter's intentions, but it is certain that there is no contradiction between the central ideas in Endymion and Mei. The central theme of Keats' poem is love: love of nature, love of humanity, love of ideal beauty. The lesson which Endymion learns as a result of his varied experiences is the lesson of love. The theme of mystical union, if it is present, is certainly obscure and secondary. Certain recent studies of the poem have, in fact, denied its presence altogether, reducing Keats' "fellowship with essence" to mere "aesthetic empathy."<sup>16</sup> Hence, Endymion and Mei may be considered counterparts, each restating one of the two basic ideas in Alastor. While Mei asserts the need of reconciling oneself to reality, Endymion asserts the necessity of love and sympathy in human life.

The relationship between Alastor, Endymion, and Mei acquires particular interest if the three poems are read as autobiography. Each has been so interpreted. It has been suggested that in Alastor Shelley is speaking of his own inclination to withdraw from the actual life into a world of thought and imagination, "pursuant to an ideal not to be realized in earthly form."<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Endymion has been called "a Romantic, hence personal allegory" which treats Keats' own progress from the love of natural things to the love of ideas and a deeper humanitariansm.<sup>18</sup>

Both P. N. Van Eyck and Garnt Stuiveling find autobiographical elements in Mei. According to Van Eyck, Mei is largely an account of Gorter's changing conceptions of his function as a poet and of his eventual decision to deal henceforth with immediate reality.<sup>19</sup> Stuiveling sees the three books of Mei as three stages in Gorter's spiritual experience: his early delight in the life of the senses, his later desire to achieve a union of the sensuous and the eternal, and his final conviction that such a union is impossible for men. He describes Gorter's poem as

het werk van een jong dichter, die aan de ingang van zijn volwassenheid stil staat, en terug ziende zich rekenschap geeft van zijn innerlijke groei en de zin daarvan.<sup>20</sup>

the work of a young poet, who pauses at the entrance to his adulthood and, looking backward, takes account of his inward growth and the meaning thereof.

This description might well be applied to all three poems. In each a young poet at the beginning of his career (Shelley was twenty-four; Keats, twenty-three; and Gorter, twenty-five) pauses to consider what life has taught him and what his mission as a poet must be; and in each the poet decides that his mission is connected with the real, the human world.

If it is true that each of the three poems is autobiographical, then each bears a significant relationship to the work that preceded and followed it. Shelley, when he wrote Alastor, had already abandoned the excessive romanticism of his youth. He had already written Queen Mab, his impassioned statement of mankind's social ills. After writing Alastor he went on to present the needs of humanity in The Revolt of Islam and Prometheus Unbound and to propose concrete remedies in his Philosophical View of Reform. Keats, after writing Endymion, still concerned himself with sensuous and ideal beauty in his major works; but his letters began to show a growing concern for the lot of his fellow men, and in one of his latest fragments, the revision of Hyperion, he recognized the supreme merit of those "who love their fellows even to the death" and who "like slaves to poor humanity, labour for mortal good."<sup>21</sup> After writing Mei, Gorter, like May and her poet, turned his attention to the world of the senses and of human activity, first recording his immediate sensory experience of nature in De School der Poesie and eventually, in his latest works, ardently pleading for socialism as the solution to the ills of the actual world.

#### NOTES

1. "Endymion," The Poetical Works of John Keats, ed. H. Buxton Forman (London, 1915), II. 285-290.
2. Mei, Ooievaar edition (The Hague, 1956), II. 437-442.
3. Translations are from my own unpublished free translation of Mei.
4. Preface to "Alastor," The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, ed. Thomas Hutchinson (London, 1917).
5. Achilles Mussche, Herman Gorter, De Weinig Bekende (Antwerp, 1946), p. 25.
6. See Clarence D. Thorpe, The Mind of John Keats (New York, 1926), and Newell F. Ford, "The Meaning of 'Fellowship with Essence' in Endymion," PMLA, LXII (December, 1947), 1061-1076.
7. Thorpe, pp. 57-62.
8. Mussche, pp. 27-28.
9. Mei, I. 193-198.
10. Ibid., II. 2233-2237.
11. Ibid., II. 2273-2278.
12. Ibid., III. 55-61.
13. "Goethe," in De Groote Dichters, Verzamelde Werken (Bussum, 1952),

VII, 346.

- 14. Sidney Colvin, John Keats (New York, 1925), p. 235.
- 15. John Middleton Murry, Studies in Keats (London, 1930), p. 59.
- 16. See Ford, pp. 1061-1076, and Jacob D. Wigod, "The Meaning of Endymion," PMLA, LXVIII (September, 1953), 779-790.
- 17. Carl Grabo, The Magic Plant: the Growth of Shelley's Thought (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 174-175.
- 18. Wigod, pp. 784-785.
- 19. Introduction to the Bibliotheek der Nederlandse Letteren edition of Mei (Amsterdam, 1940).
- 20. Introduction to Mei, pp. 5-8.
- 21. The Poetical Works of John Keats, p. 447.

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## SOME VERSIONS OF "UTOPIA" IN THE MODERN GERMAN NOVEL

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In a recent history of German literature the chapter dealing with the modern period begins with these words: "Am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts zeichnete sich im geistigen Leben Europas ein quälendes Krisenbewusstsein ab."<sup>1</sup> Sixty-odd years later, well into the second half of this century, the words seem more appropriate than ever. Often-heard phrases such as the "Age of Anguish" or the "Age of Uncertainty" indicate clearly that we are--or at least think we are--tormented by a deep sense of crisis, that our spiritual lives are indeed marked by a quälendes Krisenbewusstsein. One critic writes that in contemporary literature man appears "as a traveler lost in a strange world with which he has nothing in common,"<sup>2</sup> and some of Europe's foremost writers, Franz Kafka, Bertold Brecht, André Malraux, Albert Camus, to name a few, have made this one of the major issues in their works.

This confrontation in some form or other of a spiritual problem is the business of literature, and we would not be too tolerant of any major writer who chose to ignore la condition humaine or to flee into a never-never land, leaving man to his fate. But there is another possibility: rather than ignore or flee the social and spiritual situation completely, or on the other hand simply diagnose or chronicle man's crisis and leave it at that, literature can suggest a solution, an alternative, a vision of what could be, something that does not exist and is even incongruous with the present state of reality. This latter attitude, when it passes over into conduct and tends to shatter the status quo, or become shattered by it, is what we term the utopian mentality.

Since almost every age seems at the time to be in some way or other one of change and crisis, we cannot find it surprising that European literature is richly spotted with utopian works. Nor would those acquainted with German literature deem it unusual that the past two or three decades have brought forth a veritable flood of utopian fiction. What should strike us--and even concern us deeply, I think--is the fact that so many recent visions of the future end on a note which is generally more pessimistic or disturbing than reassuring. There is the premonition of something ominous, of some large-scale chaos which not only leaves us with a real sense of uneasiness but makes us reach uncertainly for our dictionaries in order to check that word "Utopia" again.

The answer to this anomaly of the term "pessimistic utopia" does not lie only in the sense of living in a time of crisis, but rather in the general feeling that we may somehow have reached the end of things. The term "Dokumente einer End-Zeit"<sup>3</sup> has been applied to a number of modern utopian novels, and it is with this in mind that I am going to examine now the utopian nature of

Hermann Hesse's Das Glasperlenspiel,<sup>4</sup> Robert Musil's Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften,<sup>5</sup> and Hermann Kasack's Die Stadt hinter dem Strom.<sup>6</sup> In my treatment I hope to find something that suggests pronounced optimism rather than pessimism or a sense of doom.

In the year 2000 the Glasperlenspiel, or game of beads, is played and taught at the Waldzell academy in the province of Kastalien. Here the education of the spiritual elite of the country's youth takes place. The goal is a kind of aristocratic humanism but, significantly enough, the products of this exercise in exclusively spiritual and intellectual things are not sent back into the world but, with the exception of recreants and a small number of others, remain in the rarefied atmosphere of their Geistesorden and dedicate themselves to the cultivation and preservation of human culture. The youth Josef Knecht is taken into this static world in which not only the Glasperlenspieler, but also the arts and sciences are separated from life and from their fellow men in a kind of ivory tower isolation. Knecht passes through the various schools or stages of this hierarchical order and eventually becomes the magister ludi, the Glasperlenspielmeister. At the height of his success and on the occasion of the brilliant Jahresfest for which he, as Meister, was responsible, he tells a friend:

Ja, Kastalien, das Glasperlenspiel sind wunderbare Dinge, etwas nahezu Vollkommenes sind sie. Nur sind sie es vielleicht allzusehr, sind allzu schön; sie sind so schön, dass man sie kaum betrachten kann, ohne für sie zu fürchten. Man denkt nicht gerne daran, dass sie wie alles einmal wieder vergehen sollen. Und doch muss man daran denken.<sup>7</sup>

This, in a sense, betrays Knecht's secret, the inner voice of uncertainty or, as he himself once called it, the "voice of nature." Although Knecht has remained true to the Kastalien order and has kept faith in the value of pure spirit as an end in itself, his destiny ultimately leads him out of his spiritual home and into reality, into the world. The novel ends with the sudden and, I believe, necessary death of Knecht.

This is the motif of polarity, of the duality of man's nature which we encounter in most of Hesse's work, and notably in Narziss und Goldmund. Knecht's life has been dedicated fully to the game of beads, but his Dämon, his irresistible urge towards totality has pushed him out into the world of reality. By committing himself completely to the spiritual he has awakened in his own breast the painful consciousness of and need for its polar opposite, the world outside. Spirit, Geist, is not enough for Knecht, and so his life has been a circle. Knecht is referring to the eternal law of life when he says:

Es gibt kein adliges und erhöhtes Leben ohne das  
Wissen um die Teufel und Dämonen und ohne den  
beständigen Kampf gegen sie.<sup>8</sup>

The perfect union of life and spirit can and should be man's ideal, but it cannot be his reality. Knecht has experienced the profound truth dass Glaube und Zweifel zusammengehören, dass sie einander bedingen wie Ein- und Ausatmen, and so he returns to the world from whence he came. This is, in the final analysis, an admission of failure and a recognition of the inadequacy of Kastalien's game of beads (that symbolic expression for the deeper harmony existing between all areas of knowledge and the sense of unity behind them). It is at the same time, however, a prophetic vision--and a very positive one--of the elimination of chaos through spirit and intellect.

Hesse himself has explained Josef Knecht's rejection of the Glasperlenspiel and his return to the world in this way:

Josef Knecht hat innerhalb der Welt, in der wir... leben, das denkbar Höchste erreicht und geleistet, indem er als Magister Ludi Führer und Vorbild der geistig Kultivierten und geistig Strebenden war. Vorbildlich hat er das überkommene geistige Erbe verwaltet und vermehrt, Hohepriester eines Tempels, der jedem von uns heilig ist. Er hat aber den Bezirk eines Meisters, den Platz in der obersten Spitze unserer Hierarchie, nicht bloss erreicht und innegehabt; er hat ihn durchschriften, er ist ihm entwachsen in eine Dimension, welche wir nur ehrerbietig zu ahnen vermögen.<sup>9</sup>

That other dimension is, I believe, the serenity which Kastalien has given him and the knowledge that his escape into the world of reality cannot for him mean a plunge back into chaos.

The novel's message thus seems to be essentially a positive one, although some critics have doubted this and expressed puzzlement at Knecht's sudden drowning before his worldly task had actually begun. It is positive because Josef Knecht has really attained what the Glasperlenspiel set as its goal. Every symbol and every combination of symbols, says Knecht, lead not to individual examples, experiments and proofs, but into the center, into the secret and innermost part of the world, into the Urwissen. This is Hesse's real utopia, the Urwissen which Knecht discovered on his return to the world to recover the other half of himself. Spirit and intellect as the ordering forces of man banish chaos from life. At the point where the two extremes meet and blend Josef Knecht dies. But his end is at the same time a new beginning, sacrificial

in the Hegelian, stirb und werde in the Goethean, sense.

Hesse asks a basic question: Can life and spirit be reconciled, blended into a complete unity? This question carries with it the warning that the material decline of Europe, indeed, of Western civilization, is only the outward expression of impending total spiritual bankruptcy. This is also Robert Musil's message of warning. His man without qualities, Ulrich, searches for a morality to live by. He, too, is concerned about the future of Western man and with finding a new, acceptable social and moral order. It is simply the quest for utopia, which, like Hesse's, hinges on the synthesis of two opposites. The formulation of this dualism is in each case somewhat different; in Hesse's works the world of light and darkness, spirit and nature, God and Satan, cosmic order and world chaos, contend with each other; in Musil it is Genauigkeit and Seele; logic, intellect and nature, emotion; reality and mysticism. In both cases it is the profoundly moral struggle to banish the chaos of the Steppenwolf from man's world.

Musil's novel is set in the Vienna of the Hapsburg monarchy (which he calls Kakanien) in the period of its death throes from 1913 to 1914. Although the work is unmistakably a satire on the elaborate and inefficient bureaucracy and the stagnation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (critics have tended to overstress this aspect of the work, I feel), Musil is much more concerned with giving man a model, a framework in which human existence can be fulfilled.

The man without qualities is a mathematician. His problem, which is the central theme of the novel, is to build a meaningful life for himself. As a Möglichkeitsmensch he must come to terms with reality. His first such attempt to do so (in the novel, I should say; earlier, unsuccessful attempts are suggested by the author) involves what is called the parallel action. Kakanien's leading personalities meet informally and form a committee whose goal it is to find a leitende Idee. The ostensible purpose of the parallel action, which is to be a demonstration of solidarity by the entire nation, is the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the reign of Kakanien's monarch. Ulrich, who has been made secretary of the action, is one of the first to sense the futility of the whole endeavor; he recognizes the void lurking behind this grandiose plan to liberate the soul from civilization, and he foresees that it will end with the outbreak of war.

Ulrich's second attempt leads him into forbidden regions in a search for other possibilities of total unity. He falls in love with his sister, whom he has not seen since childhood, and their love reaches its apex in the couple's sudden flight from the world (one kind of reality) to an Adriatic island (another kind of reality). This, too, proves to be futile:

Vieles war schön und hielt schmeichelnd fest. Aber  
nirgends sagte die innere Stimme: dies ist das Letzte.<sup>10</sup>

Although the novel is a fragment, the posthumous notes and sketches make the planned ending relatively clear. Ulrich considers war an enemy of the contemplative life but decides not to evade mobilization. Kriegsgeschichte is Liebesgeschichte, Musil says, but the collapse of one of Ulrich's possibilities, the utopia of the other condition (Utopie des andern Zustandes) and its extension into war and incest, although essential to the plot, do not represent Musil's final answer to the problem of man's fate.

Utopias, Musil says, are nothing more than possibilities. A possibility is not a reality because the given conditions with which the possibility is enmeshed prevent it from becoming real. Take it out of its connection, however, let it develop, and the result is a utopia.<sup>11</sup> If the possibility is the element of exactness, if it is taken out and allowed to develop, if it is then regarded as a Lebenshaltung and allowed to affect everything with which it comes in contact, then we have a man in whom there is the paradoxical combination of exactness and vagueness (Genauigkeit and Unbestimmtheit). This paradoxical combination makes up the man without qualities. But qualities are those things which society gives a man. Hence, one who isolates himself from society has neither qualities nor morality. Musil describes Ulrich as someone yearning for Gemeinschaft but rejecting the given possibilities.<sup>12</sup> In the mathematician Ulrich the will to exactness and the rejection of his existing possibilities lead him to the opposite pole, to a kind of mysticism. In his sister he sees an emotional unity possible between reality and imagination; he sees the vision of his own self, therefore he logically, almost scientifically, concludes that their love offers him a possibility of complete self-surrender. The autistic components of his being fuse with love, Musil explains, and this asocial or antisocial condition is a rejection of reality in favor of the mystic moment of total unity. This is Ulrich's utopia of the "other condition" (Utopie des anderen Zustandes), which in its ecstatic intensification of exactness has become visionary and irrational.<sup>13</sup> I have indicated already that the man without qualities rejects this "other condition," leaves his sister and returns to his quest for a synthesis.

Musil's fundamental objection to the utopia of the other condition is that it cannot offer instructions for practical life. Altogether, utopias have come to no practical result, he says.<sup>14</sup> And yet we are offered the possibility of one more utopia in the Mann ohne Eigenschaften. One chapter bears the title: "Behauptung, dass auch das gewöhnliche Leben von utopischer Natur ist."<sup>15</sup> This is deceptively simple. Musil is not merely saying that everything which is is fundamentally utopian. But for the exact thinker (and Musil's plea is for a return to ratio) it is a return to that reality which the "other condition" had left too far behind. This new reality is the utopia of the actual condition (Utopie des gegebenen Zustandes) and it is confronted ironically. The man without qualities, whose philosophy is exactness, can see the imperfections and idiocies of human institutions. But in them (and this includes the exact science of mathematics)

and in himself he can see the fundamentally ideal or the utopian sense. If man's reality is basically utopian, even though unrealized, then the problem is to combine the passion for utopia, soul, and exact logic (Genauigkeit) into their original unity. Irony, or perhaps ironic detachment, is the method of approach. The goal of the novel is, I believe, just this synthesis. Significantly enough, it is Musil himself who says a utopia is not a goal but a direction. And so Ulrich, who has been strikingly unsuccessful in his own search, nevertheless takes sides with the actual condition and accepts it as the utopia of his world. Man is to become inductive rather than deductive. Our past is empty, therefore we must be inductive in that our way must be motivated:

Jede Zeit muss ein Richtbild haben, wozu sie da ist,  
einen Ausgleich zwischen Theorie und Ethik, Gott  
und so weiter. Dem Zeitalter des Empirismus fehlt  
das noch.<sup>16</sup>

The implication here is that it will come. His plea is that we let the inductive rather than the deductive mentality place the bridge over the abyss.

To these two variations on the theme of spirit versus chaos I should like to add a third and final one. Hermann Kasack's city beyond the river is, like Josef Knecht's Kastalien and Ulrich's utopia, of the other condition, the starting point, so to speak, in the protagonist's search for a synthesis. But, unlike the others, it does not at any moment create the illusion that it might be the lost paradise or the answer to man's quest. With a Kafka-like simplicity and with the same sense of enigma, we are told that the protagonist Robert has received a call to be the city's archivist. We are told how he journeys to the city beyond the river, takes up his duties, searches for and finds the woman he loved but could not or did not marry (back on the other side of the river), and ultimately discovers her secret and that of the city--a discovery, I might add, which the reader makes considerably earlier than the archivist himself.

It is a city beyond the stream of life, or, more exactly, a kind of modern purgatory where we see, as in a mirror, the ruins of our own earthly existence. With the sole exception of Robert, the inhabitants of the city are dead, yet Kasack makes a distinction between Gestorbensein and Totsein. The phantoms of the city are in a condition that corresponds to the process of dying, which takes place on the side of the river where life is. In the act of dying our soul anticipates the feeling of death, and in the first stages of death (Totsein) there still remains a feeling of life. For these shades the city is a transit station where their remaining hold on life is filtered away. What is finally left is the mere imitation of life, an empty form. At this point, when the phantoms assume all the qualities of death, when memory (Erinnerung) is gone, they must leave the city and take up their eternal abode. They must return to the Urschoss.<sup>17</sup>

Robert's original purpose in crossing the boundary between life and death might have been his fear of life:

Die kreatürliche Angst, dem Dasein auf Gnade und Ungnade ausgeliefert zu sein, war, wenn er es recht bedachte, die Grundfrage aller Existenz. Sie stellen hiess eine Lösung finden.<sup>18</sup>

Not until the decade of his sojourn is almost over--these, he later learns, were the devastating war years--does he fully understand his mission. He is to represent the bridge across the stream, to take what he has learned from the vestibule of death back to the living.<sup>19</sup> He must leave behind him the woman he loves. This is inevitable; she, who no longer belonged among the living as Robert did, leaves the city also. Her way, however, leads not back across the stream but to the very gates of Hades. She has become Mother Care, one of the sibyls, and at her feet there rises the source of the river that separates the city from the living. Although Robert leaves her, it is still through her that he attains final clarity and frees himself, his essence, from the crippling destructive connections with the world of life. In his last conversation with her, he takes leave of his own importance and learns that truth is the greatest good, and patience the highest hope of salvation.<sup>20</sup> Her final advice to him is "lächelnd die Spur des Lebens zu ziehen," so he becomes a wandering prophet in the realm of the living.

For the third time in as many novels we have, then, a kind of homecoming. During his stay in the city Robert has learned that the words "In the beginning was the word" should really be "In the beginning was the spirit." Logos rather than chaos, Geist and not Ungeist. He knows now that both are present in equal measure and that it is for mankind to decide which is to be the victor. The banishing of chaos through spirit was, as we have seen, also the message of Hesse and Musil. To achieve this, a synthesis of opposites is necessary. With Hesse it is Geist and Leben, with Musil Genauigkeit and Seele. Kasack too is aware of the disparate forces in man's world. It is the conventional duality of passion and reason (Leidenschaft and Vernunft). He is, however, somewhat vague as to the precise relationship in which they should stand in their struggle against chaos:

Die Leidenschaften...konnten auf die Vernunft des Geistes, auf die Verwirklichung eines geläuterten Lebens gelenkt werden. Bei jedem fand die Entscheidung an.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the dismal picture he gives in his allegory, however, the utopian outlook is evident. The liquidation of western civilization in the twentieth century can be prevented through an encounter between the European spirit and oriental metaphysics.

In trying to get at the inner reason for the basic similarity of these three novels in their search for the way to man's fulfillment, I am reminded of Schiller's essay on naïve and sentimental poetry. We recall that the third type of sentimental poetry, according to Schiller, is the idyl, whose function it is to portray man in a state of innocence, in harmony and at peace with himself. He goes on to say that the idyllic poet should not lead us "rückwärts in unsere Kindheit... sondern vorwärts zu unserer Mündigkeit."<sup>22</sup> To Schiller the perfect idyl is that one "welche... den Menschen, der nun einmal nicht mehr nach Arkadien zurück kann, bis nach Elysium führen kann."<sup>23</sup>

Our modern utopians are, I believe, sentimental in Schiller's sense. If they are interested in a flight from reality, it is surely only to show that this is not the right way to do things. Their utopias do lead forward, to Mündigkeit, in that they all return to life. The title of one of Stefan Andres' Novellen sums it up very nicely: Wir sind Utopia. And this, we might be inclined to agree, is by far the soundest approach to resolving the dilemma of our generation, our so-called age of anguish.

#### NOTES

1. Fritz Martini, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte, 7th ed. (Stuttgart, 1955), p.420.
2. Wallace Fowlie, A Guide to Contemporary French Literature (New York, 1957), p.177-78.
3. Helmut M. Braem, "1945-1953," in Deutsche Literatur im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 427.
4. 2 vols., Zürich, 1943.
5. Ed. Adolf Frisé (Hamburg, 1952); hereafter cited as MOE.
6. Frankfurt am Main, 1947. 14. MOE, p.1620.
7. Glasperlenspiel I, 416. 15. MOE, p. 372.
8. Ibid., I, 449. 16. MOE, p.1629.
9. Ibid., I, 70. 17. Die Stadt hinter dem Strom, p. 511.
10. MOE, p.1445. 18. Ibid., p. 430.
11. MOE, p.253. 19. Ibid., p. 511.
12. MOE, p.1620. 20. Ibid., p. 514.
13. MOE, p.1568. 21. Ibid., p. 550.
22. Schiller, Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung, ed. William F. Mainland (Oxford, 1951), p. 54.
23. Ibid., p. 54.

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RECENT BOOKS IN THE FIELD OF CLASSICAL  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

S. M. Adams. Sophocles the Playwright. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. ix, 182.

A sound and conservative book, analyzing the plays and elucidating the action in performance. An introductory chapter treats the origin of drama, the theology of Aeschylus, and the morality of Sophocles.

F. E. Adcock. The Greek and Macedonian Art of War. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957 (Sather Classical Lectures, V. 30). Pp. 109.

A careful study of the relevant evidence showing the debt of Rome to the Hellenistic tacticians and emphasizing the difference between Roman and Hellenistic tactics.

Arrian. The Life of Alexander the Great, tr. Aubrey de Selincourt. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1958 ("Penguin Classics," L81). Pp. 256.

A pleasing translation of an author not recently available to a wide public. A brief and matter-of-fact introduction is helpful.

Sir Ernest Barker. From Alexander to Constantine. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. xxvi, 505.

A broad anthology illustrating social and political ideas from 336 B.C. to 337 A.D., and demonstrating the continuity of thought between Christian and classical Europe.

W. Beare. Latin Verse and European Language. London: Methuen, 1957. Pp. 296.

Beare's thesis, still disputable, is that Latin poetry, even popular poetry, was basically quantitative after the Saturnian was abandoned; that Medieval Latin, which could be forced into qualitative patterns, was a dead language.

C. M. Bowra. The Greek Experience. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1957 ("World Histories of Civilization," I). Pp. xiv, 213.

A general survey of Greek culture from the Homeric age to the fall of Athens. A lucid and pleasurable introduction to Greek life, thought, and art.

Catullus. Carmina, ed. R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon, 1958. Pp. xvi, 113.

A new edition of Catullus replacing the old Ellis edition in the Oxford Classical series. An excellent work, conservative in its attitude to all emendations, and with a clear and full apparatus criticus.

John Chadwick. The Decipherment of Linear B. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.

A popular account of how Chadwick and the late Michael Ventris deciphered the B syllabary of the clay tablets from Cnossos and Pylos, and something of what is found therein. Well worth reading.

Chapman's Homer, ed. Allardyce Nicoll. 2 volumes. New York: Pantheon Books, 1956.

An attractive edition with Introduction, Textual notes, Commentary, and Glossary. It is designed "rather for the general reader...than the scholar." It is odd, then, that Elizabethan printing and spelling peculiarities are preserved.

J. M. Edmonds, ed. The Fragments of Attic Comedy, Vol. I, Old Comedy. Leiden: Brill, 1957. Pp. 1029.

This sumptuous volume is designed for the non-Greek reader as well as the specialist; the text and testimonia have English translations on the facing page. The fragments are skillfully, but at times somewhat freely, done into English verse. Several minor errors and too much freedom in conjecture preclude its acceptance as definitive, but it will be useful for many years.

Sir John Forsdyke. Greece before Homer. London: Max Parrish, 1956. Pp. 176.

A critical examination of the legendary data for the prehistoric Greek period. It surveys the origins and character of the Homeric and Cyclic epics, and the attempts of ancient authorities to reconstruct early history. Somewhat inconsistent, but fascinating.

E. Fraenkel. Horace. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. xiv, 464. Really an encyclopedia of Horace, covering a vast range of material; helpful to all students of the poet.

W. K. C. Guthrie. In the Beginning. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957. Pp. 151.

Guthrie deals with the interplay of various kinds of approach, especially mythical, naturalistic, and teleological, to questions which were asked by the Greeks about the origins of life and of mankind and of the development of civilization.

A. H. M. Jones. Athenian Democracy. Oxford: Blackwell, 1957. Pp. vii, 198.

A collection of previously published articles plus two new papers dealing particularly with the economic and governmental problems of fifth century Athens.

G. M. Kirkwood. Studies in Sophoclean Drama. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958 ("Cornell Studies in Classical Philology," vol. XXXI). Pp. viii, 304.

An important criticism of the structure, characterization, chorus, diction, and irony of Greek drama. Kirkwood's structural classification of the plays provides an illuminating interpretation of the Antigone.

G. Klaffenbach. Griechische Epigraphik. Göttingen: Vandhoeck und Rupprecht, 1957. Pp. 107.

A clear, comprehensive and authoritative work, style clear and concise, arrangement well ordered. It will be indispensable for the student in epigraphy.

Bernard Knox. Oedipus at Thebes. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 280.

An interpretation, of the modern symbolical sort, of the character of Oedipus. He symbolizes the "tyrant city," Athens. Subtle, over-subtle, and not convincing.

Richmond Lattimore. The Poetry of Greek Tragedy. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958. Pp. vii, 157.

A wise and stimulating, though highly subjective book, which emphasizes the importance of Greek poetry as a demanding medium which sometimes dictates the form and content of Greek drama. The problem of the interrelation of Greek poetry and drama is studied by analyzing nine plays.

A. W. Lawrence. Greek Architecture. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1956 (Pelican History of Art). Pp. xxxiv, 327.

A monumental error.

James B. Leishman. Translating Horace. Oxford: Cassirer, 1956. Pp. 185.

A charming set of thirty translations, facing the Latin text, with a note on the background, Horace, and versification.

Albin Lesky. Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen. Göttingen: Vandhoeck und Rupprecht, 1956. Pp. 229.

A convenient and useful compendium of the present state of problems of Greek Drama, arranged by subject.

Lucan. Pharsalia, tr. R. Graves. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957 ("Penguin Classics," L66). Pp. 239.

A good translation with an unfortunate introduction and too many misprints.

Paul MacKendrick, ed. The Roman Mind at Work. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958 ("Anvil Books," no. 35). Pp. 192.

A discussion of thirteen topics, e.g., "Art of War," "The Roman Character," "The Romans and the Land," illustrated by readings in translations from the ancient authors. A useful introduction to Rome for the undergraduate.

Clarence W. Mendell. Tacitus: The Man and his Work. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 397.

A good study of the life of Tacitus, his significance as a historian and writer together with a history of the text.

R. D. Murray. The Motif of Io in Aeschylus' Suppliants. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 104.

Murray finds a basic allegory in the theme of Io, with parallels to the wandering and driven Danaids; this reveals much of Aeschylus' belief in the relationship of man and god. A sensitive work which shows it is impossible to consider the Suppliants and Prometheus Bound apart.

Ovid. Metamorphoses, tr. Rolfe Humphries. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957. Pp. xi, 401.

A clear, easy translation of an author somewhat neglected recently.

Hugh Plommer. Ancient and Classical Architecture. London: Longmans, 1956. Pp. xxii, 384.

A valuable introduction to Near Eastern and Classical architecture.

Plotinus. The Enneads, tr. by Stephen MacKenna, rev. B. S. Page. London: Faber, 1957. Pp. li, 635.

A very great translation, well revised by Page who, taking into account recent scholarship, has removed many of the blemishes of the first edition.

C. A. Robinson, Jr., ed. Selections from Greek and Roman Historians. New York: Rinehart, 1957. Pp. xi, 341.

A selection from good translations of the best ancient historians, from Herodotus to Tacitus. A good introduction for the general reader, although Toynbee's selection is not superseded.

Karl Strecker. Introduction to Medieval Latin, tr. and rev. by R. Palmer. Berlin: Weidmann, 1957. Pp. 159.

An excellent translation of a standard work, which is not only an introduction to the medieval Latin language, but also to medieval Latin studies in general.

Suetonius. The Twelve Caesars, tr. R. Graves. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957 ("Penguin Classics," L72). Pp. 315.

A free and easy style, translation generally good, introduction generally poor.

Ronald Syme. Tacitus. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 2 volumes. Pp. xii, 854.

The finest study of Tacitus in recent times, by one of the modern masters of Roman literature. An indispensable companion for the student of Tacitus and of the history of the early Empire.

H. T. Wade-Gery. Essays in Greek History. London: Blackwell, 1958. Pp. xvi, 301.

A collection of some of Wade-Gery's best articles over the last thirty years.

T. B. L. Webster. Art and Literature in Fourth Century Athens. London: University of London, the Athlone Press, 1956. Pp. xvi, 159.

A study of the interrelation of the writers, thinkers, and artists in the time of Plato, of Aristotle, and of Theophrastus. It re-emphasizes, perhaps too much, the importance of the fourth century in its own achievements, and it brings out its importance in elaborating a Weltanschauung of tremendous influence on the later ancient civilization.

Cedric Whitman. Homer and the Heroic Tradition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xii, 365.

Whitman attempts to formulate a synoptic view, and does an excellent job of bringing together the results of modern disciplines and of applying them especially to the Iliad. It is impossible to discuss the book briefly, except to say that it is highly stimulating and will provide a fertile source of discussion for many years.

R. J. Buck

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Charles Baudelaire. Petits poèmes en prose (Le Spleen de Paris), ed. Henri Lemaître. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1958. Classiques Garnier. Pp. li, 265.

Eric A. Blackall. The Emergence of German as a Literary Language. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. Pp. x, 539. \$10.00.

A. C. Chisholm. Mallarmé's "L'Après-Midi d'un Faune." Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. Pp. 35. \$.95.

G. F. Cushing. Hungarian Prose and Verse. University of London: The Athlone Press, 1956. Pp. xxxv, 197. \$2.50. (Erroneously listed in III, 4.)

Gérard de Nerval. Oeuvres, ed. Henri Lemaître. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1958. Classiques Garnier, 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. lxix, 982; Vol. II, pp. xxiii, 904.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. Paul et Virginie, ed. Pierre Trahard. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1958. Classiques Garnier. Pp. clxxiii, 319.

E. D. Tappe. Rumanian Prose and Verse. University of London: The Athlone Press, 1956. Pp. xxvii, 193. \$2.50. (Erroneously listed in III, 4.)

Frank Wood. Rainer Maria Rilke. The Ring of Forms. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958. Pp. 240. \$4.50.



